

Marathi

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## **Volume 13**

Marathi

by Ramesh Vaman Dhongde and Kashi Wali

# Marathi

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## Foreword

Marathi, one of the major languages of India, is spoken in Maharashtra State (capital Mumbai/Bombay). This is located in the centre of the subcontinent, with Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages to the north and Dravidian languages to the south.

The authors, both native speakers, have been researching and writing about Marathi for many years. R. V. Dhongde, former Professor of Linguistics at the Postgraduate and Research Institute, Deccan College, Pune/Poona, is chiefly responsible for the chapters on phonology, morphology and word formation and has in addition contributed in an appendix an account of the acquisition of Marathi by a delightful little girl named Abhikhya. Kashi Wali, who lives in the United States and is best known for her work on generative syntax, has written the seven chapters devoted to syntax which form the second half of the book. While the two authors come from different scholarly traditions they have gone out of their way to ensure that their analyses are fully explicit and accessible to a wide readership while faithfully following the LOALL practice of systematic transliteration, glossing and translation of all the language material.

Marathi has a plosive system not unlike that of Sanskrit, opposing four places (labial, dental, alveolar/retroflex, velar) and two modes (voice and aspiration) of articulation. It is interesting to note that little Abhikhya acquired the velar plosives last, arriving at them by having first substituted for them labials, then dentals, then alveolars in that order. The language also has voiced and voiceless nasals and both palatal and alveolar affricates, differentiated like the plosives by means of voice and aspiration.

Marathi has a rich inflectional and derivational morphology, the noun distinguishing three genders, two numbers and seven cases. Of these the nominative/direct case is unmarked while the other cases are marked by a sequence of two elements, a so-called oblique marker sensitive to the stem class, gender and number of the noun and a closed set of special postpositions. Simple verbs are outnumbered by compound verbs whose second elements show various degrees of grammaticalisation. The finite forms of the verb combine affixation with the use of auxiliaries. Word formation is by affixation (some prefixes and suffixes

being borrowed from Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic), by compounding and by several kinds of reduplication.

Marathi is a verb-final language with a relatively free word order. Its sentences have nominative-accusative alignment even where case-marking and verb agreement have an ergative pattern. The factors triggering ergative marking are the past perfective tense, one specific modal form, and the first and second person pronouns which, although themselves not ergative-marked require ergative-type verb agreement. In general the verb agrees with an unmarked noun phrase, which is not always the subject so that subjecthood has to be established by criteria other than verb agreement. Subordinate clauses can be non-finite or finite, the latter type including complements introduced by the conjunction *ki* borrowed from Persian which follow the main clause, and a variety of relative clauses. There are numerous correlative structures including a multiple-headed type (Which girl which book read that girl that book liked, 'Every girl who read a book liked it'). The discussion of pronouns and anaphoric expressions gives particular emphasis to two reflexive markers with distinct distributional properties.

The two appendices contain a short essay on the language of women and a case study describing the acquisition of Marathi by a child.

Theodora Bynon

## Preface

Marathi grammar books in English are far and few compared to their number in Marathi. Most of these books have been written in an outdated traditional framework. They have failed to take into account recent developments in linguistics and grammar. This vacuum has been felt and expressed by several scholars. Our book is an attempt at filling this vacuum. The book presents a linguistic description of aspects of phonology, morphology, ergative case, agreement system, and several other intricate syntactic patterns of Modern Standard Marathi. The book takes into account several important issues discussed in modern phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic studies without orienting itself to any particular grammatical viewpoint. There are plenty of examples from colloquial as well as written modern Marathi that illustrate the point. The examples are glossed with English translation including grammatical details. In addition, there is a chapter containing sample dialogues from newspapers and everyday life.

Our book includes a first hand account of the acquisition of Marathi by a one year old child, which is not found in other grammars. The language acquisition was personally observed by one of the authors. The account of it here gives minute details regarding the acquisition of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects of Marathi and as such is unique. We have also added an article on women's language contributed by a feminist writer. It describes the historical changes in address forms used for husbands and a list of special feminine expressions. Both accounts have been attached as an appendix to the book. The list of authors in the reference section includes Marathi grammarians as well as modern grammarians and theorists whose works have influenced our presentation. We hope that the readers will find the book useful and it will kindle their interest in Marathi.

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Finally, we are grateful to Mrinal and Sharvey Dhongde and Ashwini Deshpande for preparing the final version of the book meticulously and carefully.

Ramesh Dhongde  
Kashi Wali



# Abbreviations and symbols

## Abbreviations

1	first person	DESI	desiderative
2	second person	DO	direct object
3	third person	DIST	distal
ABL	ablative	EMPH	emphatic
ABIL	abilitative	EQ	equative
ABS	absolutive case	ERG	ergative
ACC	accusative case	EXCL	exclusive
ADJ	adjective	F	feminine
ADV	adverb	FIN	finite
AGN	agent	FOC	focus
ANA	anaphor	FPL	feminine plural
ANIM	animate	FSG	feminine singular
ARC	archaic	FUT	future
ASP	aspirate	GEN	genitive case
ASSR	assertive	HAB	habitual
AUX	auxiliary	HON	honorific
C	consonant	HORT	hortative
CAUS	causative	IDM	idiom
CF	counterfactual	IMP	imperative
CL	clitic	IMPF	imperfective
COMP	complementizer	INC	inclusive
COMPL	completive	INCP	inceptive
COMPR	comparative	INDF	indefinite
CONC	concessive	INF	infinitive
COND	conditional	INST	instrumental
CONJ	conjunction	INTJ	interjective
CONT	contingent	INTSF	intensive / intensifier
CONTRA	contrastive	INTR	intransitive
CP	conjunctive participle	IO	indirect object
COR	correlative	LOC	locative
DAT	dative	M	masculine
DEF	definite	MP	masculine plural
DEM	demonstrative	MSG	masculine singular

N	neuter / number (represented by numerals)	PRO	pronoun
NEG	negative	PROG	progressive
NOM	nominative	PROS	prospective
NON-FIN	non-finite	PROX	proximate
NPL	neuter plural	PRP	present participle
NSG	neuter singular	PS	pronominal suffix
OBJ	object	PSP	past participle
OBL	oblique	PTCP	participle
OPT	optative	Q	question particle
P-A	Perso-Arabic	QOT	quotative
PART	particle	REDUP	reduplicative
PASS	passive	REFL	reflexive
PAST	past	REL	relative
PERF	perfective	SBJ	subjunctive
PERM	permissive	SG	singular
PHR V	phrasal verb	SK	Sanskrit
PL	plural	SUB	subject
POL	polite	SUF	suffix
POSS	possessive	TAG	tag
PP	postposition	TOP	topic
PREF	prefix	TR	transitive
PREC	precative	V	vowel
PRED	predictive	VD	voiced
PRES	present	VL	voiceless
PRESM	presumptive	VOC	vocative

## Symbols

Transcription symbols for Marathi are explained and given in Chapter 2.

*	ungrammatical sequence
?	marginal / odd
i, j, k	subscripts indicating coreference
	showing two parts of a word

## Phonetic symbols

↑	rising intonation	↓	falling intonation
→	level intonation	^	rise fall intonation
∨	fall rise intonation	Σ	drawled intonation
•	juncture	·	syllable boundary
~	nasalization	'	accent

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

### 1.0 Area and speakers

Marathi, a New Indo-Aryan (I-A) language, is the primary language of Maharashtra, the third largest state in the Indian Union. The state was formed in 1960 when Bombay state (as it was known then) was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat on the basis of linguistic distinction. Marathi became the state language of Maharashtra and Mumbai (former Bombay) its state capital. Marathi is the fourth dominant language after Hindi, Telugu and Bangla. The Census of India 2001 shows around ninety-six million speakers of Marathi.

Linguistically the state is sandwiched between two distinct language families, namely, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. Gujarati and Hindi, both belonging to the I-A family, are spoken on the northern border of the state. Telugu and Kannada, both part of the Dravidian family are spoken on the southern border. The geographic proximity of the Dravidian Telugu and Kannada has greatly influenced Marathi lexicon and syntax. In fact some linguists claim that Marathi has a Dravidian substratum (see Southworth 1971). The Indo-Aryan origin of Marathi has thus become a debated issue.

Marathi has two major dialects, namely, Standard Marathi and Warhadi. A few smaller significant subdialects include Ahirani, Dangi, Samavedi, Khandesi, Are Marathi and some others. Konkani, once considered to be a major dialect of Marathi, has now been recognized as a language in its own right with its own subdialects. Standard Marathi is the official language of Maharashtra. It is the language of record used in official documents, as well as in scientific, and literary writing. Marathi, like Sanskrit uses the Devanagari script with certain modifications. The modified script is known as *Balbodhi*. Another cursive script called *Modi* was in use between 13th and 18th century. It was introduced by Hemadpant, but it has become obsolete.

## 1.1 Linguistic characteristics

Marathi has many unique and interesting characteristics. The basic word order in Marathi is subject-object-verb. The order is flexible. The language encodes both nominative and ergative case systems giving rise to what is called a split ergative system. The verb agrees in gender, number and person with an unmarked noun, which is not necessarily the subject. Pronominal marking and agreement is complex and challenging to any theoretical account. Marathi has both exclusive and inclusive first person pronouns besides two reflexive pronouns with a unique distribution of their own. In fact, one of the reflexives is a cross between a reflexive and a pronoun and is hard to classify. Both adjectives and adverbs encode a correlative system. Adjectives show an interesting multiple headed relative construction. There are three genders – masculine, feminine and neuter. Unlike other Indic languages, Marathi has alveolar affricates – *c*, *j* and *jh* that contrast with the alveo palatal affricates. The language also has aspirated stops, affricates, nasals, laterals, continuants, and trills that are phonemically significant. Marathi uses a limited number of heavy-duty verbs such as *lag* ‘come to touch’, *sut* ‘leave’, *ho* ‘become’, *kar* ‘do’ that produce aspectual and modal meanings and help in forming phrasal verbs that compensate for the paucity of verb-forming processes. Morphologically there is a fusion of tense and mood in Marathi.

Additionally, there are a large number of unique morphemes that occur only in set phrases. These characteristics are detailed in later chapters.

## 1.2 Language and literature

The Marathi language is a descendent of Maharashtri, a Prakrit language descended from Sanskrit. In ancient times, Marathi was known as Maharashtri, Marhatti, and Mahratti. The literary tradition is a long and hallowed one and the earliest attributions are difficult to date for certain. Here we outline a brief synopsis of significant dates and associated literary figures.

The first written evidence of Marathi is in the form of an inscription dated A.D. 983 at Shrawanbelgol in Karnataka. The first written work in Marathi is considered to be Shreepati Bhatta’s – *Jyotisha-ratna-mala*, a commentary on astrology that may have been composed as early as A.D. 1059. The second work in A.D. 1199 is attributed to Mukundaraja’s *Viveksindhu*, a philosophical treatise in verse. Dnyaneshvar’s *Dnyaneshvari* (A.D. 1286) and Mhahimbhat’s *Līlācaritra* (A.D. 1278) are now considered to be the first compositions of Marathi literature. *Dnyaneshvari* is essentially a commentary on the Bhagavadgeeta. *Līlācaritra* is a

biography of Chakradharswami. It is written in colloquial language containing several dialogues. Seven important literary texts were produced in this style.

Dnyaneshwar is considered to be the founder of the Warkari sect. His *Dnyaneshwari* composed at the age of nineteen is an explication of philosophy in the Bhagvadgeeta. More importantly, its language, its style, its use of similes and metaphors used are unique. His contemporary, Namdew (1270–1350), a tailor by caste, wrote his devotional songs in Marathi, Hindi and Punjabi. Other figures in this tradition were Visoba Khechar, a grocer, Janabai, a maidservant, and Kanhopatra, a dancing girl. Ekanath (A.D. 1533–1599) edited *Dnyaneshwari*. His *Ekanathi bhagawata* ‘Epic according to Ekanath’ has become an integral part of the Marathi literature. The literature of the Warkari sect gave prestige to writing in Marathi instead of Sanskrit. Significantly, it contributed a new lexicon and added styles in syntax. In terms of social history, it created a platform for all castes, and diminished the importance of Vedic religious rituals. The tradition culminated in Tukaram’s famous poetic compositions of A.D. 1608–1650.

Another literary tradition called Panditi Marathi is attributed to Wamanpandit, who lived from (1608–1695). It used Sanskrit metrical patterns and vocabulary in its compositions. Interestingly during 1697 to 1818 prose compositions describing the important political events in the Maratha history were recorded in what is called *bākhār* chronicles. These show the influence of Perso-Arabic vocabulary, special morphological forms and syntactic styles. These borrowings persist even today.

With the advent of English education, literary writings began to change. The Marathi used by the educated elites became the standard barring other sociolects from entering their world. The influence of English even affected the syntax of the native Marathi.

Modern novel writing began with H. N. Apte (1885–1920). Writers like N. S. Phadke (1894–1978) and V. S. Khandekar (1898–1976) dominated the literary scene in the first thirty years of independence. Phadke was successful in writing easy-flowing and unaffected dialogues. His model was H. G. Wells. Khandekar was influenced by Gandhian philosophy. Malti Bedekar alias Vibhavari Shirurkar was the first significant feminist writer. New experiments in writings are found in Nemade’s *Kosala*.

Modern Marathi poetry began with Keshavsut (1866–1905). He chose themes from everyday life without the usual embellishments. Kusumagraj (1912–1999) represents the best of this tradition. It is worth noting that though modern Marathi poetry used themes from English and imitated certain forms such as the sonnet, it could not really set aside the Sanskritized diction and traditional metrical patterns. Modern poetry very soon became a particular style of writing that continues to this date.

A new form of poetry began with Mardhekar (1909–1956). His diction is a mixture of English, Sanskrit and Marathi words creating deviant syntax. His style did not take root and earlier romantic style began to take root. It is represented in the works of P. S. Rege (1910–1978), C. T. Khanolkar (1930–1976), and G. D. Madgulkar (1919–1977).

A significant new turn in poetry started with Narayan Surve, Daya Pawar, and Namdev Dhasal. They call it the *Dalit* poetry, the poetry of the downtrodden. These poets use the *Dalit* dialect. Another aspect of the modern poetry is found in the feminist poetry. It has its inspiration in English feminist literature. Ashwini Dhongde, Pradnya Lokhande, and Neeraja are some of the exponents of this genre.

There is a rich tradition of dramatic literature also. It began in the 19th century with plays by Kirloskar, Deval and continued in the plays of Gadkari and Khadilkar. Recently the art has been modernized by writers such as Atre, Tendulkar and Elkcunchalwar.

Literature affects language in innumerable ways. New styles, new vocabularies, new nuances are continuously added to the language. It affects our way of writing as well as grammar to a certain extent. This is clearly reflected in the language samples in Chapter 12.

### 1.3 Marathi grammarians

M. S. Mone, author of a seminal book on Marathi grammarians (1927) notes Bhishmacharya of the Mahanubhav sect as the first grammarian of Marathi. He wrote three chapters related to Marathi grammar in his *namavibhakti* ‘Nominal Case’, and *panchavartika* ‘Five critiques / commentaries’. The book is dated between 13th and 14th centuries. There is no record of any other Marathi grammars after that. Interestingly the first grammarian of Marathi happens to be a European. Father Thomas Stephens (1549–1619) also happens to be the first Englishman to travel to India. He landed in Goa, then a Portuguese colony. He wrote a grammar of Konkani in Portuguese called – *Arte da Lingoa Canarim* (Canarim i.e. present Kannada). It was published in 1640 in Rachol, Goa, nearly twenty years after his death (see Gomes 1992 for details.) Note that Father Stephens considered Konkani to be a dialect of Marathi. His grammar is in a certain sense a grammar of Marathi itself. He was fluent in Konkani and Marathi. He wrote *Christa Puran*, an epic poem on the life of Christ in Marathi. Another missionary, William Carey wrote an elementary grammar of Marathi in 1805. Carey’s grammar was followed by Mukbah in 1825 and by George Gervis in 1840. More recently a Marathi grammar written in Sanskrit in 1827 by Venkat Madhav has been discovered.

1836 marks the beginning of Marathi grammars written by native speakers. Gangadharshastri Phadake wrote a pedagogical school grammar of Marathi. It was followed by Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar's *Maharashtra Bhasheche Vyakaran* 'A grammar of the Marathi Language' written in Marathi. It marks the first serious attempt at writing a systematic grammar of Marathi.

Krushnashastri Godbole's *Marathi Bhasheche Navin Vyakaran* 'A new grammar of the Marathi Language' (1867) traces the relation of Marathi to Prakrit and Sanskrit. Krushnashastri Chiplunkar published a series of critical essays from 1865–1868 on Marathi grammar in *Shalapatrak* 'school-newsletter' pointing out flaws in Tarkhadkar's grammar. He criticized Tarkhadkar for superimposing anglicized framework on Marathi. R. B. Joshi wrote *Praudhabodh Vyakaran* 'Advanced Grammar' in 1889.

G. G. Agarkar in his *An Inquiry into the Nature of Sentences with an analysis of them* (1888) analyzed Marathi sentences on the model of English grammar. M. K. Damle's Scientific Grammar of Marathi – *Shastriya Marathi Vyakaran* – was published in 1911. It begins with sounds, orthography, eight parts of speech, sections on inflection and derivation. Damle analyzes sentential structure and classifies sentence types. He has extensively criticized earlier grammars. His book is a compendium of Marathi language and the most informative grammar yet to be surpassed. Most of these books were written in Marathi.

In 1920, Jules Block published his *La Formation de la langue maratthe*. The book traces etymologies of Marathi words in the light of Marathi phonology and morphology. N. G. Kalelkar's *Dhvanivichar* 'A treatise on phonology' (1955), and A. R. Kelkar's *The Phonology and Morphology of Marathi* (1958) were the fruits of American descriptive linguistics brought to Pune, India. Kelkar, in a rather complex presentation, describes Marathi data by setting up phonemic, morpho-phonemic and morphemic levels.

M. L. Apte (1962) sets up transformational rules for Marathi syntax. However he leaves out a large amount of supporting data. A. G. Mangrulkar tried to put forth new issues in Marathi grammar in 1964 in his book *Marathi Vyakaraṇaca Punarvichar* but the book lacks the linguistic rigour. S. M. Gupte (1975) deals with Relative constructions with some valuable insights. R. V. Dhongde's *Arwachin Marathi* 'Modern Marathi' (1983) introduced Marathi phonology and morphology. His *Tense, Aspect and Mood in English and Marathi* (1984) analyses and compares English and Marathi tense-systems from a formal as well as a semantic point of view. Kashi Wali's *Marathi Syntax* (1989) and *Marathi: A Study in Comparative South Asian Languages* (2006) are the first books on Marathi generative syntax. Smita Joshi's doctoral dissertation *Selections of Grammatical and Logical Functions in Marathi* (1993) analyses Marathi Dative constructions within Lexical Functional theory. A. R. Kelkar's *Language in Semiotic Perspective: The Architecture*

of a Marathi Sentence (1997) presents a cognitive and communicative approach. R. V. Pandharipandé's *Marathi* (1997) written in the Lingua framework is a good source for several aspects of Marathi grammar.

Two more upcoming names, Aarti Nayudu and Prashant Pardeshi must be mentioned here. Nayudu's (2008) dissertation is entitled *Issues in the syntax of Marathi: A Minimalist Approach*. Pardeshi has published papers on various Marathi topics within a cognitive semantic framework. His dissertation is entitled *Transitivity and Voice: A Marathi-Japanese Contrastive Perspective*.

The present grammar elaborately describes the phonology, the accentual system, morphology and word formation. The syntax includes the complex agreement system, classification of simple and complex sentences, negation and anaphora. The language samples throw light on the discourse pattern. The book also includes a chapter on the acquisition of Marathi by a one year old child and an essay on the evolution of women's language through ages.

#### 1.4 Script

Marathi is written in the Devanagari script which is used for Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi.

There are 10 letters for vowels and 33 for consonants. In addition there is one retroflex symbol that is now pronounced as a sequence /ru/. Then there is a nasalized vowel symbol representing the sequence /əm/ and a vowel with a breathy release represented by the sequence /əh/ and called "wisarga". Three consonant clusters are represented by special symbols: /kʂ/, /tr/ and /dny/.<sup>1</sup>

In Marathi the 10 vowels have separate symbols when they occur alone and there are different orthographic marks for them when they occur with consonants. The consonants are always represented in the chart with [ə]:

	ə	a	i	i:	u	u:	e	əi	o	əu
Vowel letter	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए/ऐ	ऐ/औ	ओ	औ
Vowel mark		।	ि	ी	ु	ू	े	ै	ो	ौ
Example	क kə	का ka	कि ki	की ki:	कु ku	कू ku:	के ke	कै kəi	को ko	कौ kəu

In addition a mark for nasal is used on a consonant-letter preceding the nasal: ण as in क [kəṇ] in /kəṇwa/ 'comb'. The mark /:/ "wisarga" is used to denote a breathy release of a vowel in a few words borrowed from Sanskrit. For example नि: in [nihsauṣay] 'without doubt'.



The vowel [æ] in borrowed words such as “bat” is represented by the vowel-letter अँ and the mark ̃ as in बैट [bæ̃t̃]. The vowel [ə] in borrowed words such as “doctor” is represented by the vowel-letter औ and the mark ̃ as in कौट [kə̃t̃].

### Consonant-letters

The following consonant-letters represent the consonant sounds given including the vowel [ə] in them.<sup>2</sup>

क [k]	ख [kh]	ग [g]	घ [gh]	ङ [ŋ]
च [ç]	छ [çh]	ज [j]	झ [jh]	
ट [ʈ]	ठ [ʈh]	ड [ɖ]	ढ [ɖh]	ण [ɳ]
त [t]	थ [th]	द [d]	ध [dh]	न [n]
प [p]	फ [ph]	ब [b]	भ [bh]	म [m]
य [y]	र [r]	ल [l]	व [w]	
श / ष [ʃ]	स [s]	ह [h]	ळ [ɭ]	
क्ष [kʃ]	ज्ञ [dny]			

In clusters consonants in the initial position are represented either in reduced forms of letters (for example क्व in क्वचित [kwəçit] ‘rarely’) or in marks (for example र् in कर्ता [kə̃rt̃a] ‘subject / doer’).

### Observations

The consonant-letter र [r] is represented by six different marks whereas the four nasals could be represented by one single mark (*anusvar*).

There are two other letter-clusters. The consonant [k] joined with [t] is represented by क्त [ktə] as in रक्त [raktə] ‘blood’. Similarly consonant [d] joined with [w] is represented by द्व [dwə] as in द्वार [dwar] ‘door’.<sup>3</sup>

There are some problems with the script and as a result attempts have been made in the direction of reforming the script. Some problems have no solution. One is the word-final consonant which is written as if it is followed by [ə]. For example in गवत [gəwət], the first two letters are pronounced with [ə] but not the last one.

In words such as काव्य [kawyə], the letter-cluster shows a cluster of two consonants: [w] and [y]. But in speech it is pronounced as wwy – [kawwyə]. The same is true for words such as लावण्य [lawəṇnyə] ‘beauty’, मद्य [məddyə] ‘wine’, पूज्य [pujyyə] ‘honorable’, वध्य [wəddyə] ‘that can be killed’, बाह्य [bayhyə] ‘external’ etc. In short the final cluster with [yə] is a cluster of three consonants.

The script uses single symbols for the pairs [č] and [c], [j] and [j], [jh] and [jh].

The difference maintained in writing between [u] and [u:], [i] and [i:] is not maintained in speech. All attempts at script-reform have failed because of their complexity and non-acceptance by speakers.

Ancient Marathi inscriptions also show the problems in script. Anusvar (use of a dot mark above the letter to represent a nasal) is not a dot but a circle in the inscriptions. The word-final short [ə] in words is shown by the mark ˘ as in – भटानं [bhəṭa:nə] ‘by a Brahmin’. Most importantly the use of length-mark for [i] and [i:] is made inconsistently. The use of full stop to show the end of a sentence instead of a vertical bar started in the early 19th century Marathi prose writing (Nemade 1990).

In early 19th century, Modi script had virtually replaced the Devanagari script. The Peshwa Daptar (written records of the Peshwa rulers) was written in Modi script. The British education system and the revival of interest in Sanskrit in the second half of the 19th century re-established the use of the Devanagari script. Modi calligraphy is easy but it is also irrational.

## Notes

1. Krushnashastry Chiplunkar (1893), who had a firm grounding in Sanskrit, gives 12 vowel-letters. We have excluded his ळ as it is no more used in Marathi. Even the vowel symbol ऋ is used but pronounced as [ri] or [ru] which is sequence cv. It is, however, used in writing. Therefore strictly speaking in modern Marathi there are 10 letters for 8 Marathi vowels and 2 vowels borrowed from English: [æ] and [ə]. The vowels [i] and [u] have two separate symbols for shortness and length.

Krishnashastry gives 34 consonant-letters out of which ञ is not used in modern Marathi. The alveo-palatal nasal-letter of Sanskrit words borrowed in Marathi is replaced in pronunciation by dental [n]. In the remaining 33, as retroflex fricative [ʃ] does not occur in modern Marathi, its symbol ण is retained only in writing.

2. The letter chart is presented traditionally moving from the velar stops and nasal to the labial stops and nasal, then to the alveo-palatal semi-vowel, alveolar trill and lateral, and then to the labial semi-vowel. Finally the fricatives follow from the back to the front and lastly the glottal. The palatal affricates are considered as stops. The letter chart ends with two cluster-letters.

3. The writing [d] + C and C + [d] is confusing

[d] + C :	द्व [drəwə] ‘liquid’
:	द्वार [dwar] ‘door’
C + [d] :	शब्द [ʃəbdə] ‘word’
:	मंद [məndə] ‘slow’

## CHAPTER 2

# Sound system

Modern Standard Marathi has a sound system of 10 vowels and 39 consonants.

### 2.1 Vowels and diphthongs

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Midlow	<i>əi, æ</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>əu, ə</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

#### 2.1.1 Length

Length is not phonemic in *i* and *u*. It is positionally determined. The vowel is long in final syllables followed by Ø or C. Elsewhere it is short. A few educated elite try to keep it in borrowed items from Sanskrit such as *gəti*: ‘speed’, *i:rša*: ‘ambition or desire’ but the majority of Marathi speakers do not have length.

*ə* can be extra short in final syllables when preceded by a consonant-cluster and followed by Ø, as in *pətrə* ‘letter’, *rəktə* ‘blood’, *bhintə* ‘wall’, *rəŋgə* ‘colour’, *əbhəŋgə* ‘a type of verse’, *markə* (borrowed from English) ‘marks’. It is lengthened in words such as *bolə* ‘to speak’, *yeə* ‘to come’ (all infinites) and in *pətrə* ‘letters’, *pəkhə* ‘birds’ *ṭəlkə* ‘gang’ (all in consonant) final neuter plural forms of nouns or *ə*-ending neuter singular forms. One can say that it is a variant of *e* in these situations. In monosyllabic words also *ə* is lengthened: *ət* ‘condition’, *kət* ‘coup’. In the speech of many Marathi speakers, especially in fast speech, *ə* is not lengthened.

There is a contrast between inter consonantal *ə* and *a* in monosyllabic words: *gaḍ* ‘bury’ and *gəḍ* ‘fort’, *kap* ‘slice’ and *kəp* ‘cup’, *maḷ* ‘garland’ and *məḷ* ‘dust’; *a* in the initial syllable of polysyllabic words is in free variation with *ə* as in *a/əi* ‘mother’, *ə/abhə* ‘pillow cover’ *ə/anuśəŋgik* ‘corrolary’, *ə/awiśkar* ‘expression’, *ə/aḍkitta* ‘betel nut cracker’, but not in *aj* ‘today’, *at* ‘inside’.

Length distinction in *i* and *u*, and the distinction between initial *a* and *ə* mentioned above are maintained, however, in orthography, and this has confused some grammarians (see Damle ([1911] 1970)). Therefore the contrast in *śi:r* ‘vein’ and *śir* ‘enter’, *jhu:l* ‘a bodycloth’ and *jhul* ‘nod’ are maintained in writing by the educated elite but in speech not even by them.<sup>1</sup>

In Sanskrit [ə] is retained at the end of a word: [*wənə*] ‘forest’, [*ramə*] ‘Ram’, [*dewə*] ‘god’, [*māhabharatə*] ‘Mahabharat’, [*paṇḍawə*] ‘Pandawa(s)’, [*bhi:mə*] ‘Bhima’ etc. In Sanskrit a word could have a final CV syllable where V is [ə]. Marathi heavily borrows words from Sanskrit but the final *ə* of the final syllable of Sanskrit words is lost and that C becomes a part of the preceding syllable of the Marathi word. However in poetry, often, the poets recover the final *ə* of the Cə.

Compare:

- (1) *nəse*                      *ramə te*    *dhamə soḍunə dyawe* (poetry)  
 NEG-Be-ARCH PRES    Ram   that   house   leave-DESI  
 ‘The house in which there is no Ram should be deserted.’

with

*ram*   *soḍun gela* (ordinary speech)  
 Ram   leave-PERF  
 Ram left

### 2.1.2 Borrowed vowels

The vowels *æ* and *ə* are used in borrowings from English. In the nineteenth century the English *æ* was replaced by *ya* as in *byaṅk* ‘bank’ and the *ə* by *a* as in *ḍaktar* ‘doctor’. The replacements are still found in rural Marathi. The increasing prestige of English however brought back the *æ* and *ə*. The following words borrowed from English retain their *æ* and *ə* in modern Marathi: gram [*græm*], mad [*mæḍ*], back [*bæk*], stamp [*stæmp*], tractor [*træktər*], plan [*plæn*], cot [*kət*], lottery [*lætəri*], top [*təp*], plot [*plət*], Australia [*əsṭreliya*]. The English contrast between *ə* and *æ*: however is never maintained – even in the speech of educated urban speakers in the 21st century.

### 2.1.3 Distribution of vowels

All vowels occur in the initial position: *imarət* ‘building’, *uḍala* ‘flew’, *ek* ‘one’, *ok* ‘vomit’, *ət* ‘condition’, *at* ‘in’, *aik* ‘listen’ and *aur* ‘strange’. *æ* and *ə* which are borrowed vowels, follow the distribution in English. All vowels occur in the medial and final position: *rit* ‘manner’, *pəri* ‘fairy’, *luṭ* ‘arson’, *haḷu* ‘slow/slowly’, *bheṭ* ‘meet’,

*he* ‘these’, *jor* ‘power’, *to* ‘he’, *pai* ‘a type of coin’ *sail* ‘loose’, *daut* ‘ink bottle’ and *sau* ‘Mrs.’

#### 2.1.4 Nasalization of vowels

There are no inherently nasalized vowels in standard Marathi. The Chitpavani dialect of Marathi has nasalized vowels and when the Chitpavan brahmins dominated the socio-cultural and political domains in the 19th century, the then standard Marathi did have nasalized vowels. Damle ([1911] 1970) gives words such as *kōwla* ‘young’, *kīw* ‘pity’ etc. which seem to have nasalized vowels. In modern standard Marathi vowels are nasalized or semi-nasalized (Kelkar 1958) before a nasal consonant. The so-called contrast between the nasalized diphthong in [*hāūs*] ‘swan’ and non-nasalized diphthong in [*həus*] ‘eagerness’ does not exist in modern Marathi.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 Consonants

			Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro- flex	Alveo Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	VL	UNASP	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ʈ</i>		<i>k</i>	
		ASP	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>ʈh</i>		<i>kh</i>	
	V	UNASP	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ɖ</i>		<i>g</i>	
		ASP	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>ɖh</i>		<i>gh</i>	
Nasal	V	UNASP	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɳ</i>		( <i>ŋ</i> )	
		ASP	<i>mh</i>	<i>nh</i>		<i>ɳh</i>			
Flap	V	UNASP					<i>r</i>		
		ASP					<i>rh</i>		
Lateral	V	UNASP			<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>			
		ASP			<i>lh</i>				
Affricate	VL	UNASP			<i>c</i>		<i>č</i>		
		ASP					<i>čh</i>		
	V	UNASP			<i>j</i>		<i>ǰ</i>		
		ASP			<i>jh</i>		<i>ǰh</i>		
Fricative	VL				<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>		<i>h</i>
Semi- vowels	V	UNASP	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		
		ASP	<i>wh</i>						

## 2.2.1 Description of consonants and their distribution

### 2.2.1.1 Stops

- [p] is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop.  
 [ph] is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop.  
 [b] is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop.  
 [bh] is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop.

The four contrast in different positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
[par] 'totally'	[sopa] 'easy'	[sab] 'sir'
[phar] 'very much'	[sopha] 'sofa'	[sap] 'snake'
[bar] 'a charge of a gun'		[saph] 'clean'
[bhar] 'burden'		

- [t] is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop.  
 [th] is a voiceless aspirated dental stop.  
 [d] is a voiced unaspirated dental stop.  
 [dh] is a voiced aspirated dental stop.

Initial	Medial	Final
[tap] 'temperature'	[səntə] 'saint'	[sat] 'seven'
[thap] 'a lie'	[sənthə] 'slow'	[sath] 'company'
[dap] 'scold'	[adi] 'primary'	[sad] 'a call'
[dhap] 'panting'	[adhi] 'first'	[sadh] 'gain'

Marathi has a full retroflex series of oral and nasal stops.<sup>3</sup>

- [ɖ] is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop.  
 [ʈh] is a voiceless aspirated retroflex stop.  
 [ɗ] is a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop.<sup>4</sup>  
 [ɗh] is a voiced aspirated retroflex stop.

Initial	Medial	Final
[ɖol] 'toll'	[kaɖi] 'a thorny branch'	[kaɖ] 'a crossmark'
[ɖol] 'to rock'	[kaɖhi] 'a large stick'	[kaɖh] 'edge'
[ɖhol] 'drum'	[kaɖi] 'a small stick'	[kaɖh] 'take'
[ɖoke] 'points or ends (of things)'	[kaɖhi] '(he) takes/draws'	[gaɖ] 'bury'
[ɖhoke] 'beats'		[gaɖh] 'deep'
[ɖoke] 'head'		

- [k] is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop.  
 [kh] is a voiceless aspirated velar stop.

[g] is a voiced unaspirated velar stop.

[gh] is a voiced aspirated velar stop.

Initial	Medial	Final
[kər] ‘do’	[pakəd] ‘a type of plant’	[tak] ‘buttermilk’
[khər] ‘broken stones’	[pakhəd] ‘chaff’	[tag] ‘hemp’
[gər] ‘pulp’	[a/əkhada] ‘arena’	[cak] ‘wheel’
[ghər] ‘house’	[a/əghada] ‘a type of plant’	[cakh] ‘taste’

### 2.2.1.2 Affricates

[c] is a voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar affricate.

[j] is a voiced unaspirated apico-alveolar affricate.

[jh] is a voiced aspirated apico-alveolar affricate.

Initial	Medial	Final
[cal] ‘strategy’	[bhaca] ‘nephew’	[lac] ‘bribe’
[jal] ‘(you (PL)) will go’	[bhaja] ‘Roast!’	[laj] ‘shame’
[jhal] ‘a shallow bamboo-basket’	[maca] ‘cot’	
	[maja] ‘Swell!’ (Imperative)	
	[majha] ‘my’	

[č] is a voiceless unaspirated alveopalatal affricate.

[čh] is a voiceless aspirated alveopalatal affricate.

[j] is a voiced unaspirated alveopalatal affricate.

[jh] is a voiced aspirated alveopalatal affricate.

Initial	Medial
[čakka] ‘a kind of cheese’	[kəčči] ‘raw (feminine)’
[čhəkka] ‘impotent’	[kəčchi] ‘person of Katch’ (an Indian region)
[čij] ‘object’	[moči] ‘shoemaker’
[jihj] ‘erosion’	[moji] ‘(he) counts’
[jira] ‘cuminseed’	[kaca] ‘pieces of broken glass’
[jhəra] ‘underground stream’	[kača] ‘tuck’
[jun] ‘old’	
[jun] ‘June’	
[jhəkjhək] ‘bright (light)’	
[jhəkjhək] ‘complaining’	
[jəp] ‘be careful’ (IMP)	
[jəp] ‘counting the beads of a rosary’	
[car] ‘graze’	
[čar] ‘four’	

- [*cəracəra*] ‘rapidly’  
 [*čəračəra*] ‘in the world of the living  
 and the non-living’  
 [*jhapəḍ*] ‘drowsiness’  
 [*jhapəḍ*] ‘slap’

### 2.2.1.3 *Fricatives*

- [*s*] is a voiceless alveolar sibilant/fricative.  
 [*ʃ*] is a voiceless palatal alveo sibilant/fricative.  
 [*h*] is a voiced glottal fricative.

Initial		Medial		Final
[ <i>sal</i> ]	‘skin’	[ <i>sosəṇe</i> ]	‘to bear’	[ <i>paʃ</i> ] ‘string, bond’
[ <i>ʃal</i> ]	‘shawl’	[ <i>šoʃṇe</i> ]	‘to suck’	[ <i>pas</i> ] ‘pass’
[ <i>hal</i> ]	‘difficulty’	[ <i>pəsara</i> ]	‘spread’	[ <i>pah</i> ] ‘see’
		[ <i>pəhara</i> ]	‘guard’	
		[ <i>məʃal</i> ]	‘torch’	
		[ <i>məhal</i> ]	‘palace’	

### 2.2.1.4 *Nasals*

- [*m*] is a bilabial voiced unaspirated nasal.  
 [*mh*] is a bilabial voiced aspirated nasal.  
 [*n*] is a (apico) dental voiced unaspirated nasal.  
 [*nh*] is a (apico) dental voiced aspirated nasal.  
 [*ɳ*] is a retroflex voiced unaspirated nasal.  
 [*ɳh*] is a retroflex voiced aspirated nasal.<sup>5</sup>

Initial		Medial		Final
[ <i>mama</i> ]	‘uncle’	[ <i>naṇə</i> ]	‘coin’	[ <i>kam</i> ] ‘work’
[ <i>nama</i> ]	‘reduced form of a proper name’	[ <i>nhaṇə</i> ]	‘taking bath’	[ <i>kan</i> ] ‘ear’
[ <i>mən</i> ]	‘mind’	[ <i>tana</i> ]	‘sequences of musical notes’	[ <i>tan</i> ] ‘sequence of musical notes’
[ <i>mhəṇ</i> ]	‘saying’	[ <i>tanha</i> ]	‘very young or newly born’	[ <i>taṇ</i> ] ‘tension’
				[ <i>raṇ</i> ] ‘que’
				[ <i>ran</i> ] ‘forest’
				[ <i>ram</i> ] ‘Ram’

### 2.2.1.5 *Laterals and flaps*

- [*l*] is a voiced alveolar or apico-dental unaspirated lateral.  
 [*lh*] is a voiced alveolar or apico-dental aspirated lateral.  
 [*ɭ*] is a voiced retroflex lateral.



[r] is a voiced alveo-palatal unaspirated flap or short trill.

[rh] is a voiced alveo-palatal aspirated trill.

Initial	Medial	Final
[lek] 'daughter'	[kəra] 'Do!' (IMP)	[wal] 'a type of pulse'
[rek] 'grunt'	[kərha] 'name of a river'	[war] 'day'
[ras] 'pile'	[gora] 'fair-skinned'	[laɭ] 'suliva'
[rhas] 'decadence'	[gorha] 'calf'	[lal] 'red'
	[jila] 'whom (feminine)'	
	[jilha / jillha] 'district'	
	[kəɭta] 'slanting'	
	[kəɭta] 'subject'	

#### 2.2.1.6 Semi-vowels

[w] is a voiced bilabial unaspirated glide.

[wh] is a voiced bilabial aspirated glide.

[y] is a voiced palatal glide.

Initial	Medial	Final
[yəʃ] 'success'	[nəwe] 'new'	[pay] 'leg'
[wəʃ] 'subdued'	[nəwhe] 'not'	[paw] 'bread'
[ya] 'Come!' (IMP)	[jiwh-an-na / 'to tongues'	
[wa] 'very good' (INTJ)	jiwwh-an-na]	
[wha] 'Be' (IMP)	[jiw-an-na] 'to beings'	
	[dəwa] 'medicine'	
	[dəya] 'pity'	
	[kewḍa] 'a yellow flower tree'	
	[kewḍha] 'how much'	
	[lawā] 'Plant!' (IMP)	
	[lawha] 'lava'	

#### 2.2.1.7 Observations

Aspirated nasals, laterals, flaps and semivowels are not regarded as phonemes by earlier grammarians. They occur in few words but they are distinctive. They are sometimes affected by the phonological process of loss of aspiration especially in fast speech but not in all cases.

Earlier grammarians consider all the affricates as stops.

The voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [ch] is not a distinctive sound and occurs only in words borrowed from Sanskrit such as [utḥəw] 'festival', [wəṭḥə] 'young one', [məṭḥə] 'jealousy' etc. In writing it has a symbol of a consonant-cluster letter that represents the sounds /ts/. Just as there is a gap in the pattern in

the absence of [ch], there is also a gap in the pattern at voiced aspirated retroflex lateral [ʎh] and at alveo-palatal voiced nasal [ŋ].

Some modern grammarians like Pandharipande (1997) include labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v] for words borrowed from English. We have not done that as the English labio-dental fricatives are never used even by educated speakers of Marathi living in India. In fact the description of Indian English shows [ph] and [wh] as substitutes for them just as [θ] and [ð] are substituted by [th] and [d].

Many grammarians insist on the inclusion of the voiceless retroflex sibilant [ʂ] in order to maintain Marathi's proximity to Sanskrit.

Among the four languages that are in contact with Marathi, only Telugu and Kannada have the retroflex lateral [ʎ].

A recent dialect survey of Marathi noted in Dhongde (1995) shows certain interesting features of dialects. For example the vowel *i* of standard Marathi corresponds to *ə* as in *injin* > *injən* 'engine', the front mid vowel *e* to *ya/ye* as in *tel* > *tyal* 'oil'; and the mid back vowel *o* to *w* a labial frictionless continuant as in *oḍhṇe* > *wəḍhṇe* 'to drag'. Initial consonants are aspirated in the dialects under certain conditions but elsewhere aspirated consonants are deaspirated. The retroflex nasal *ŋ* and the lateral *ʎ* – correspond to dental counterparts as in *paṇi* > *pani* 'water', *phəṇəs* > *phənəs* 'jackfruit', *masoḷi* > *masoli* 'fish'. The survey also shows that about 60% to 75% words of these dialects were found in common with standard Marathi. 17% of the vocabulary belonging to some 35 semantic fields was found to be different in some specific subdialects, whereas 8% of the vocabulary was found to be different in some groups of subdialects. That is about 25% of the 2900 hundred words tested in 8 major areas of Maharashtra were found to be different from those of standard Marathi.

### 2.3 Phonotactics

All consonants except alveo-palatal affricates and aspirated [mh] [nh] [lh] and [rh] are allowed word-finally.<sup>6</sup>

All consonants except [ŋ] [ŋh] and [ʎ] are allowed word-initially.

#### 2.3.1 Word-initial consonant-clusters

Consonant-clusters are found in words derived from Sanskrit *tadbhava* and words inherited from Sanskrit, *tatsama* (Sanskrit words in Marathi speech). In the subdialects clusters are either simplified or put into non-initial word position. Marathi allows the following clusters.

- Cr: 13 clusters in which C is one of the nine stop-consonants: [p] [b] [bh] [t] [d] [ʈ] [ḍ] [k] [g] or [m] [n] [s] [ʃ]. This gives the maximum number of 13 in this type. Examples: [prathəm] ‘first’, [brə] ‘single word’ / ‘sound’, [bhrantə] ‘scarcity’, [tran] ‘strength’, [drəw] ‘liquid’, [tram] ‘tram’, [drəm] ‘drum’, [krəm] ‘order’, [gram] ‘village’, [mruttyu] ‘death’, [nruttyə] ‘dance’, [srot] ‘spring’, [šrey] ‘credit’.
- Cy: 12 clusters in which C is one of the seven stop consonants: [p] [b] [bh] [t] [d] [dh] [kh] or [m] [n] [l] [w] [h]. A cluster of 3 consonants *dny* also occurs. Examples: [pyade] ‘pawn’, [byad] ‘pest’, [bhyad] ‘coward’, [tya-ca] ‘his’, [dya-wa] ‘should give’, [dhyan] ‘meditation or appearance’, [khyati] ‘fame’, [myan] ‘sheath’, [nyay] ‘justice’, [lya-la] ‘wore’, [wyayam] ‘exercise’, [yha-la] ‘to this one’, [dnyan] ‘knowledge’.
- Cw: 3 clusters in which C is [d], [k] or [s]: [dwar] ‘door’, [kwəcit] ‘rarely’, [swətəh] ‘oneself’.
- Cl: 2 clusters in which C is [k] or [ʃ]: [klištə] ‘complex’, [šleš] ‘pun’ (sk).
- Cp: 1 cluster in which C is [s]: [spaštə] ‘clear’.
- Cph: 1 cluster in which C is [s]: [sphot] ‘explosion’.
- Cth: 1 cluster in which C is [s]: [sthan] ‘place’ (sk).
- Ck: 1 cluster in which C is [s]. Example [skul] ‘school’ (E).

All these clusters mostly occur in words borrowed from Sanskrit and English.<sup>7</sup>

Marathi does not allow word-final consonant-clusters except in words borrowed from English such as: ‘silk’, ‘best’, ‘fast’, ‘feast’, ‘dark’, ‘farce’, ‘list’, ‘lamp’, ‘paste’, ‘oilpaint’, ‘guest’, ‘shark’, ‘test’, ‘work’ etc.

### 2.3.2 Word-medial geminates

All non-aspirated consonants can occur duplicated (geminated) word-medially. Examples [gəppə] ‘quiet’, [gəbbər] ‘very rich’, [səttə] ‘power’, [əddəl] ‘lesson’, [ghəttə] ‘tight’, [əḍḍə] ‘assembly or a place where persons of common interest meet’, [pəkka] ‘fixed’, [bəggi] ‘horse-carriage’, [kacca] ‘raw’, [korə, kəjje] ‘judicial disputes’, [bəčča] ‘child’, [məjja] ‘fun’, [həmma] ‘cow’, [ənnə] ‘food’, [kəlla] ‘whisker’, [kaḷ-ḷə] ‘understood’, [kərrə] ‘noise of a door’, [əssə] ‘so it is’, [huššə] ‘sigh of relief’, [əwwəl] ‘best’, [bhəyya] ‘brother or a guard at the door’.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.3.3 Word-medial non-geminates

What are called word-medial non-geminates never occur in the same syllable.<sup>9</sup> They are open to phonological processes in the same way as other consonant sequences. They are not restricted in number. In the following the first set gives single words in which clusters are represented orthographically as clustered letters

or ‘*jodakshar*’. The second set also contains single words but no clustered letters are used in their writing as one can always optionally insert the vowel [ə] between them. The third set contains words that are written as separate words. But in all the examples, there are same CC occurrences.

1	2	3
[sətwə] ‘essence’	[sat-wə] ‘seventh’ (N)	[sat wəjta] ‘at seven o’clock’
[kəlpəna] ‘concept’	[bal-pəŋ] ‘childhood’	[kal pəŋ] ‘yesterday too’
[kutɾ-a] ‘dog’ (M)	[utra] ‘Get down!’ (IMP)	[jat rahu] ‘(we) will continue to go’
[nusta] ‘only’	[nəs-ta] ‘if (it) is not’	[was təri ghe] ‘at least smell (it)’ (IMP)
[wiskəṭhe] ‘to scatter’	[naska] ‘spoiled’	[pas kər] ‘let (him) pass’ (IMP)
[wišram] ‘rest’	[dəšrəthi] ‘proper noun’	[yəs rəmla] ‘Yash is amused’
[silk-ce] ‘of silk’	[šelke] ‘a few selected’	[ja-šil ka] ‘will you go?’
[wəš-at] ‘in an year’	[arš-at] ‘in the minor’	[hirwigar šete] ‘green fields’
[kərmə] ‘action’ (SK)	[kərme-na] ‘not at ease’	[jər mi] ‘If I’
[kəṛṇə] ‘ear’ (SK)	[kəṛhe] ‘to do’	(ŋ cannot occur in word-initial position)
[sərwə] ‘all’	[surwat] ‘beginning’	[kər waḍhla] ‘tax has increased’

## 2.4 Syllable structure

In monosyllabic morphemes, syllables have the following structure:

[a]	V	‘aha!’
[ai]	VV	‘exclamation of surprise’
[mi]	CV	‘I’
[šri]	CCV	‘a title’
[stri]	CCCV	‘woman’
[kay]	CVC	‘what’
[kəik]	CVVC	‘many’
[prem]	CCVC	‘love’
[strəiŋ]	CCCVVC	‘suited to women’

## 2.5 Accent

Accent is not distinctive in Marathi. Damle ([1911] 1970) does not see any valid reason to consider it. Gunjikar (1889) recognizes three types of vowels – short *rhəswə*, long *dirghə* and extra-long *plutə* – but does not recognize accent in Marathi. Kalelkar (1965), who is perhaps the first Marathi grammarian influenced by descriptive linguistics, does not mention accent in talking about Marathi phonology.

According to Kelkar (1958) length, pitch and sonority play an important role in determining the loudest accent. He calls it a tonic syllable. Pandharipande (1997) holds that stress is not a prominent feature of Marathi but there is hardly any research in this area. She identifies some stress patterns in Marathi tentatively. She talks about light and heavy syllables depending on the length of the vowel and the coda consonant, if any. For her CV is a light syllable, CVV and CVC are heavy and CVV(C) is super heavy. She uses VV to indicate long [i] [u] [a] [e] and [o].

### 2.5.1 Accent rules

1. [a] always makes the tonic syllable unless in a trisyllabic word the first syllable contains long [u], [i]. If the first syllable contains [e] or [o], [a] optionally makes the tonic syllable: ['mhatarpən] 'old age', ['tara] 'star', ['šaḷa] 'school', ['bhawaca] 'brother's', ['mhataɾa] 'old man', ['aḍhawa] 'review', ['ajari] 'sick', ['pawsaḷa] 'rainy season', [čə'lakhi] 'cleverness', [sə'madhi] 'deep meditation', ['puʃa] 'worship' (SK) – [puʃa] (M), [puʃari] 'priest', ['di:pawəli] (SK) 'row of lamps', [di'waḷi] (M) 'festival of lamps', [dh'dhat] in 'milk', ['phaṭka] 'tattered', [i'marət] 'building', [dhi:ra-ne] OR [dhi'ra-ne] 'courageously', [ʃu:nnya-ne] OR [ʃun'nya-ne] 'by zero', [ekhada] OR [e'khada] 'someone / some', [okari] OR [o'kari] 'vomitting', [sonya-ca] OR [so'nya-ca] 'of gold'.
2. If there is more than one syllable with [a] in a word and the remaining syllables do not have any vowel other than [ə], the first syllable with [a] is tonic:

['mhataɾa] 'old man'	['tara] 'star'
['šaḷa] 'school'	['bhawaca] 'brother's'
['aḍhawa] 'review'	['ajari] 'sick'
['pawsaḷa] 'rainy season'	[sə'madhan] 'satisfaction'
[jə'wahər] 'Proper noun'	[pə'ragənda] 'absconding'
['watawəɾən] 'climate'	[wəʈch'lahəɾən] 'abduction of Vatsala'.

3. The final open syllable containing [ə] is never tonic. The accent is on one of the preceding syllables. Examples: ['rəktə] 'blood', ['murkhə] 'foolish', ['utə] 'threads'.

But if a disyllabic word has both the syllables with [ə], and the second syllable is closed, the second syllable is tonic: [gə'wət] 'grass', [jə'khəm] 'wound', [pə'rət] 'again', [mə'dət] 'help'.

Notice that the tonic syllabic [ə] has extra length.

In trisyllabic words in such a situation, the first closed syllable is tonic: ['kərmərkər] 'surname', ['bəḍbəḍ-ət] 'chattering', [səḷsəḷət] 'making the sound of leaves', [səmbəndhə] 'relation', [rə'məttəmət] 'lingeringly', [nə'kəḷət] 'unknowingly'.

4. If [i] [u] [o] [e] are in the final syllable, that syllable becomes tonic; observation 1, however, overrides this.<sup>10</sup>  
 [gəri'bi] 'poverty', [jəw'lik] 'intimacy', [hutu'tu] 'a game', [ku'the] 'where',  
 [wi'hir] 'well', [wihi'ri] 'wells', [mə'jur] 'labourer', [məju'ri] 'wages', [košim'bir]  
 'salad', [mu'umu'u] 'inarticulately', [bhi'ti] 'fear', [gə'du] 'a small pot', [hə'ri]  
 'proper noun'.  
 [šen'de] 'tops', [hur'ryo] 'hurrah', [wiš'nu] 'proper noun', [kə'phi] 'coffee', [mi'hir]  
 'proper noun', [bo'ru] 'writing instrument', [bo'li] 'dialect', [be'duk] 'frog', [či'ruʈ]  
 'tobacco-pipe', [os'ri] 'veranda', [šim'pi] 'tailor', [muḍ'dus] 'rickets'.
5. If any two vowels from [e] [o] [u] [i] occur word-medially in consecutive syllables, the first one has an accent. [ə'hetuk] 'without intention', [nə'wodit]  
 'newly emerging', [prə'tiṣṭhit] 'having prestige'.

## 2.6 Phonological processes

Changes in sounds within a word or between two words are dealt with differently by grammarians. Many of them – Damle ([1911] 1970), Gunjekar (1942) and Kelkar (1958) – often take the written form as base and then talk about the change. That strategy is convincing only when the base form is available elsewhere without any change in it. Sometimes these changes are discussed as morphophonemic alternations.

Damle ([1911] 1970) and Kelkar (1958) both give rules for sound changes. But since these rules are not followed strictly, the changes are listed under extremely complicated conditions, or these are said to be optional, or many exceptions to the rules are given. In all these treatments again the changes in other dialects are not even mentioned and sometimes the subdialects are mixed up with the standard dialect. Our aim is to see which kind of phonological processes are at work in these changes. The 'sandhi' rules that Damle ([1911] 1970) gives are for Sanskrit words and therefore they belong to Sanskrit phonology. In the following discussion examples from colloquial modern Marathi alone are given.

### 2.6.1 Assimilation

The following examples show progressive assimilation:

- [ja l 'burn' + lə 'PERF-3NSG'] > [jalə] 'burned'  
 [phaṭ 'tear' + tana 'PERF NON-FIN'] > [phaṭtana] (optionally) 'while getting torn'  
 [waṭ 'think' + tə 'IMPF-3NSG'] > [waṭtə] (optionally) 'I think / someone thinks'  
 [pəṭnaik 'surname' > [pəṭnaik] (in rapid speech)

The following examples show regressive assimilation:

- [*potdar*] ‘surname’ > [*poddar*] ‘surname’  
 [*hat* ‘hand’ + *gaḍli* ‘cart’] > [*hadgaḍi*] (optionally) ‘borrow’  
 [*sat* ‘seven’ + *ḍaw* ‘round’] > [*saddaw*] (optionally) ‘seven rounds’  
 [*bhaṭ* ‘priest’ + *ji* ‘title of respect’] > [*bhaḍji*] ‘priest’  
 [*ek* ‘one’ + *da* ‘SUFFIX’] > [*egda*] ‘once’  
 [*nagpur*] ‘name of a city’ > [*nakpur*] (optionally)  
 [*phad* + *phada*] ‘REDUP’ > [*phatphada*] (optionally) ‘a food preparation’  
 [*pac* ‘five’ + *da* ‘SUFFIX’] > [*pajda*] ‘five times’  
 [*pac* ‘five’ + *saha* ‘six’] > [*passa*] ‘five or six’  
 [*aj* ‘today’ + *ca* ‘POSS’] > [*acca:*] ‘of today’  
 [*kuj* ‘rot’ + *ka* ‘SUFFIX’] > [*kucka*] ‘rotten’  
 [*wac* ‘read’ (IMP) *jara* ‘a bit’] > [*wajjara*] ‘Read a bit’  
 [*pan* ‘water’ + *caṭ* ‘SUFFIX’] > [*pancaṭ*] ‘watery or unsavory’

In progressive assimilation retroflex sounds are involved more. In regressive assimilation voiceless dental [t] is involved more and it becomes a voiced retroflex. In regressive assimilation voicing is more common than devoicing.

Dissimilation does not occur in Marathi.

## 2.6.2 Palatalization

Palatalization is a major regressive assimilative process in Marathi. Again, words such as [*səjʃən*] ‘gentleman’ that are borrowed from Sanskrit cannot be cited as examples of palatalization – that process is in Sanskrit and is called ‘*sandhi*’ (coalescence of vowels when two words are conjoined). But in Marathi there is optional palatalization between two word-boundaries and within a word as well, when a palatal sound follows dental [t], or an alveolar affricate.

- [*bat* ‘news’ + *cit* ‘(REDUP)’] > [*bačcit*] ‘communication, conversation’  
 [*pac* ‘five’ + *ci* ‘POSS’] > [*pačci*] ‘of five’  
 [*pac* ‘five’ + *še* ‘hundred’] > [*pašše*] ‘five hundred’  
 [*nij* ‘sleep’ + *šil* ‘FUT’] > [*niššil*] ‘(you) will sleep’  
 [*wijh* ‘be extinguished’ + *šil* ‘FUT’] > [*wiššil*] ‘(you) will be extinguished’  
 [*phas* ‘be cheated’ + *šil* ‘FUT’] > [*phaššil*] ‘(you) will get cheated’  
 [*as* ‘be’ + *šil* ‘FUT’] ‘(you) will be’ > [*aššil*] ‘(you) will get cheated’  
 [*nac* ‘dance’ + *šik* ‘learn’ -*li* ‘PERF’] > [*naššikli*] ‘(she) learnt dancing’  
 [*wis* ‘twenty’ *šiw* ‘stitch’ -*li* ‘PERF’] > [*wiššiwli*] ‘stitched twenty’  
 [*ugic* ‘in vain’ + *čid* ‘be angry’ -*to* ‘IMPF’] > [*ugiččidto*] ‘gets angry for no reason’

When an *-s*, *-c*, *-jh* ending stems are followed by the oblique *-ya* or *-i*, *-s*, *-c* and *-jh* are palatalized:

[*pəisa* ‘money’ + *ne* ‘PP’] > [*pəis* + *ya* ‘OBL’ + *ne*] > [*pəiṣyane*] ‘by money’  
pronounced as [*pəiṣane*]  
[*masa* ‘fish’ + *la* ‘DAT’] > [*mas* + *ya* ‘OBL’ + *la*] > [*maṣyala*] ‘to a fish’  
pronounced as [*maṣala*]  
[*mhais* ‘buffallow’ + *ca* ‘POSS’] > [*mhəs* + *i* ‘OBL’ + *ca*] > [*mhəṣica*]  
‘of a buffallow’  
[*tyaca* ‘his’ + *wər* ‘PP’] > [*tyac* + *ya* ‘OBL’ + *wər* ‘PP’] > [*tyačyawər*]  
pronounced as [*tyačawər*]  
[*majha* ‘my’ + *kəḍe* ‘PP’] > [*majh+ya+kəḍe*] > [*majhyakəḍe*] ‘towards me’  
pronounced as [*majhakəḍe*]

### 2.6.3 Aspiration

Aspiration is common in the environment where [*h*] is present.

Word-initial [*h*] preceded by a word that ends in a vowel and that is followed by the vowel [*o*] gets aspirated: [*wh*] and [*o*] gets deleted. That is – *Vho* > *Vwh*.

[*nə hota*] ‘was not’ > [*nəwhtā*] ‘NEG Be-PAST’  
[*nə ho – awa*] ‘should not happen’ > [*nəwhawa*] ‘NEG Be DESI’

However if the following vowel is not [*o*] then [*h*] optionally fuses with the consonant of the preceding syllable, the result is that that consonant gets aspirated if it is a voiced non-aspirated consonant:<sup>11</sup>

[*ləhan*] ‘small’ > [*lhan*]  
[*mahit*] ‘known’ > [*mhəit*]  
[*nah*] ‘take bath’ + [*to / e*] ‘IMPF M / F’ > [*nhato / e*] ‘takes a bath’  
[*bahe*] ‘outside’ > [*bhaer*]  
[*dəha*] ‘ten’ > [*dha*]  
[*jəhaj*] ‘ship’ > [*jhaj*]  
[*rah*] ‘live’ + *to* ‘IMPF 3MSG’ > [*rhato*] ‘lives’  
[*wah*] ‘offer’ + *ə* + *to* ‘IMPF 3MSG’ > [*whato*] ‘offers’  
[*nahi*] ‘not’ > [*nhai*]

### 2.6.4 Deaspiration

Deaspiration has a wider range than aspiration.

All aspirated stops regularly and nasals optionally lose their aspiration word-medially or between two words when followed by consonants – especially stops.



- [ph] [haph ‘half’ + pænt ‘trousers’] > happænt] ‘shorts’  
 [saph ‘absolutely’ + khoṭe ‘untrue’] > [sapkxoṭe] ‘totally untrue’  
 [saph ‘clean’ + səphai ‘cleaning’] REDUP > [sapsəpai] ‘cleaning’
- [bh] [šobh ‘become’ + to ‘IMPF M’] > [šobto] ‘looks good’  
 [labh ghe] PHR V ‘take advantage’ > [labghe]  
 [jibh ‘tongue’ caw ‘bite’ -li ‘PERF F’] > [jibcawli] ‘bit tongue’
- [th] [ek ‘one’ lath ‘kick’ de ‘give (IMP)’] > [eklatde] > [ekladde] ‘Give a kick / Kick’  
 [šəpəth ghe] PHR V ‘take a vow’ > [šəpət ghe]  
 [šodh ‘search’ + to ‘IMPF MSG’] > [šotto] ‘searches’  
 [tuthpest] (E) ‘tooth-paste’ > [tutpest]
- [dh] [dudh ‘milk’ + dubhtə] REDUP ‘milk and other products’ > [dudduptə]  
 [mādhmaši] ‘honeybee’ > [mādmaši]  
 [wādh ‘assassination’ ke ‘do’ -la ‘PERF’] ‘killed’ > [wādkela:]  
 [uṭh ‘get up’ + to ‘IMPF MSG’] ‘gets up’ > [uṭto]  
 [kaḍhghal] REDUP ‘inserting and taking back’ > [kaḍghal]
- [ṭh] [goṭh ‘freeze’ + tə ‘IMPF NSG’] ‘freezes’ > [goṭtə]
- [ḍh] [kaḍh ‘draw’ + to ‘IMPF MSG’] ‘draws’ > [kaḍto]
- [kh] [rokhṭhok] REDUP ‘straight and blunt’ > [rokhṭhok]  
 [kakh ‘arm-pit’ pəkəḍ ‘hold’ (IMP)] ‘Hold under the arm’ > [kəpəkəḍ]
- [gh] [bāgh] ‘see’ (IMP) kəsa ‘how’ kər ‘do’ -to ‘IMPF M’] ‘See how he acts’ >  
 [bāgkəsakəto] > [bākkəsakəto]  
 [guḍgha] ‘knee’ > [guḍga]  
 [bāgh ‘see’ na ‘ASSR PART’] ‘please look here’ > [bāgna]
- [čh] [kučh kər na] (H) ‘do something’ > [kučkərna]
- [jh] [majh-ya ‘my-OBL’ + saṭhi ‘PP’] ‘for my sake’ > [majasaṭhi]
- [jh] [wijh ‘extinguish’ + -la ‘PERF 3MSG’] ‘got extinguished’ > [wijla]
- [nh] [unh ‘sun-shine’ + -at ‘PP’] ‘in the sun light’ > [unat]  
 [unh ‘sun-shine’ + paus ‘rain’] ‘sun-light and rain’ > [unpaus]
- [ṇh] [kəṇh ‘whimper’ + -to ‘IMPF MSG’] ‘whimpers’ > [kəṇto]
- [lh] [(ya ‘this’) jillh ‘district’ -ya ‘OBL’ -t ‘PP’] ‘in this district’ > [(ya) jillyat]
- [rh] [mərhaṭha] ‘Marathi person’ > [mərāṭha]

### 2.6.5 Metathesis

Metathesis is a process that shows how the natural movement of speech-organs overrides the language constrained movement of them. The following are examples of metathesis:

su r ə ph aṭṇe ‘to set in the right direction’ > su ph ə r aṭṇe  
 lambə c-lamb ‘very long’ > lamb l ə c ək <sup>12</sup>  
 l i b l i b it ‘faccid’ > b i l b i l it <sup>13</sup>  
 čikəṭ-la ‘pasted’ > čitək-la

Words borrowed from Sanskrit that have a *h*+Nasal sequence change into Nasal+*h* in Marathi. In Sanskrit the *h*+Nasal sequence is represented by a separate orthographic symbol: *brāhmā* > *brāmhā* ‘Brahma, the all pervading principle’, *čihnā* > *činhā* ‘sign’.

### 2.6.6 Devoicing

Devoicing is a case of partial assimilation. A voiced stop or affricate followed by a voiceless stop optionally loses its voicing.

- [*uṭh* ‘get up’ + *to* ‘IMPF M’] ‘gets up’ > [*uṭṭo*]
- [*lad* ‘impose’ + *to* ‘IMPF M’] ‘imposes’ > [*latto*]
- [*god* ‘sweet’ + *take* ‘water-tank’] ‘sweet water tank’ > [*goṭṭake*]
- [*nagpur*] ‘name of a city’ > [*nakpur*]
- [*kuj* ‘rot’ -*ka* ‘SUFFIX’] ‘rotten’ > [*kucka*]
- [*aj* ‘today’ -*ca* ‘POSS’] ‘today’s’ > [*acca*]

### 2.6.7 Voicing

Voicing of voiceless stops also is found in assimilation:

- [*əpghat*] ‘accident’ > [*əbghat*]
- [*sat* ‘seven’ + -*da* ‘SUFFIX’] ‘seven times’ > [*sadda*]
- [*ek* ‘one’ + -*da* ‘SUFFIX’] ‘once’ > [*egda*]
- [*mədət* ‘help’ + -*gar* ‘SUFFIX’] ‘helper’ > [*mədədgar*]

### 2.6.8 Diphthongization

Diphthongization occurs when there are vowel sequences.

Vowel sequences *ai*, *ei* optionally change into *ai* and sequences *əw* and *au* optionally change into *əu* especially in fast speech:

- [*ai*] ‘mother’ > [*ai*], [*ye* ‘come’ + -*il* ‘FUT’] ‘will come’ > [*yəil*], [*paul*] ‘step’ > [*pəul*],
- [*ləwkər*] ‘quickly’ > [*ləukər*], [*kha* ‘eat’ + -*un* ‘COMPL’] ‘after eating’ > [*khəun*],
- [*əwkaś*] ‘time’ > [*əukaś*].

In [*rəwiwar*] ‘Sunday’ -*əwi*- changes to *ai*: [*rəiwar*].

### 2.6.9 Vowel harmony

In compound words there are syllabic patterns that show vowel harmony. A simple type of vowel-harmony is seen when the same vowel is repeated in the final syllables of the reduplicator and the reduplicand.

- [pəʈ | pəʈ] ‘quickly’  
 [ghəʈa | ghəʈa] ‘making the sound of gulping’  
 [čiri | miri] ‘petty giving’  
 [bəʈo | bəʈo] ‘oh young Brahmin!’  
 [luʈu | puʈu(č)] ‘fake’

### 2.6.10 Vowel raising

Apart from examples such as *tya-ne* > *tya-ni* ‘by him’, *a* ‘come’ -*le* ‘PERF 1FSG’ > *a* ‘come’ -*li* ‘PERF FSG’ ‘(I) came’, in which *e* is raised to *i*, there is a different kind of raising across syllables. In fact one can treat -*ni* and -*ne* as alternant postpositions and *ale* and *ali* as subdialectal differences.

When *e*-ending verb-stems are followed by Completive -*un*, *e* is optionally raised to *i*. Examples: *de-un* > *di-un* ‘after giving’, *ne-un* > *ni-un* ‘after carrying’, *ṭhe-un* > *ṭhi-un* ‘after putting’, *je-un* > *ji-un* ‘after eating’, *ye-un* > *yi-un* > *y-un* ‘after coming’.

In compound words the vowel in the syllable of the reduplicator is raised in the syllable of the reduplicand:

- [ghəro | ghəri] *o* > *i* ‘in every house’  
 [mara | mari] *a* > *i* ‘fighting’  
 [ghasa | ghis] *a* > *i* ‘bargaining’  
 [sam | sum] *a* > *u* ‘quietude’  
 [khaṇa | khuṇa] *a* > *u* ‘signs’

### 2.6.11 Deletion and insertion

#### 2.6.11.1 Degemination

Gemination in Marathi is always intervocalic. There is degemination when the following vowel is deleted because of the oblique case suffix:

- [gəmmət -i- ne] > [gəmtine] ‘for fun’  
 fun OBL ERG  
 [pəkkəḍ -i- ne] > [pəkḍine] ‘by pliers’  
 pliers OBL ERG

But: [wiṭṭhəl] ‘name of a deity’	>	[wiṭṭhəl -a- ce]	‘of Vitthal’
		Vitthal	OBL POSS
[kənnəḍ] ‘Kannad language’	>	[kənnəḍ -ca]	‘Kannad language’
		Kannad	POSS

### 2.6.11.2 Deletion of *i, u* in final closed syllables

/i/ and /u/ in the final closed syllables are deleted when an oblique case suffix follows:

[wəḍil] ‘father’	>	[wəḍl -an ‘OBL(PL)’ -na ‘DAT’]	‘to father’
[buruj] ‘bastion’	>	[burj-a ‘OBL’ -wər ‘PP’]	‘on the bastion’
[beḍuk] ‘frog’	>	[beḍk-a ‘OBL’ -ca ‘POSS’]	‘of the frog’
[maṇus] ‘man’	>	[maṇs-a ‘OBL’ -la ‘DAT’]	‘to a man’
[həriṇ] ‘deer’	>	[hərṇ-a ‘OBL’ -ca ‘POSS’]	‘of the deer’
[dəgəḍ] ‘stone’	>	[dəgḍ-a ‘OBL’ -ca ‘POSS’]	‘of stone’

### 2.6.11.3 Word-medial [h] is optionally deleted<sup>14</sup>

čehra-mohra ‘face / appearance’	>	čeramora
wah ‘offer’ -to ‘IMPF MSG’ ‘carry’	>	wato (but cf. 2.6.3)
pah ‘see’ -to ‘IMPF MSG’	>	pato
pehəlwan ‘wrestler’	>	pelwan
baheer ‘out’	>	baer
təhan ‘thirst’	>	tan
šəhaṇa ‘clever’	>	šaṇa
uttsahi ‘enthusiastic’	>	uttsai
mahit ‘known’	>	məit
lihin ‘will write’	>	li-in/lin
səhaḷik ‘natural’	>	səḷik
nahi ‘not’	>	nai
wəhini ‘elder brothers wife’	>	wəini

### 2.6.11.4 Deletion of word-initial *h*

The initial *h* of the Demonstrative pronoun is often deleted when an oblique marker -*ya* is added to it:

ha + ya + la	>	hyala ‘to this’	>	yala
ha + ya + ca	>	hyaca ‘of this’	>	yaca
ha + ya + ca	>	hyawər ‘on this’	>	yawər

### 2.6.11.5 *y, w insertion*

*y* is inserted between *i* and *a* and *w* is optionally inserted between *u* and *a* in *-i* and *-u* ending nouns before inflectional markers.

[ <i>bi</i> + <i>a</i> ]	>	<i>biya</i>
seed PL		'seeds'
[ <i>dhu</i> + <i>ayla</i> ]	>	<i>dhuwayla</i>
'wash' DESI		'for washing'

*w* is inserted between *V* and *ə* in forming Abilitative and Causative verbs (see 4.3.3, 4.3.4):

<i>de</i> 'give' + <i>əw</i>	>	<i>dewəw</i> 'be able to give/ cause to give'
<i>kha</i> 'eat' + <i>əw</i>	>	<i>khawəw</i> 'be able to eat'

The voiced non-aspirated syllable-final stops *b*, *d*, *ḍ* and *g* preceded by a homorganic nasal and followed by a nasal are optionally deleted:

[ <i>saŋg</i> 'tell' + <i>-ŋe</i> 'SUFFIX' 'telling']	>	[ <i>saŋŋe</i> ], [ <i>taŋg mar</i> ] PHR V 'bunk' > [ <i>taŋ mar</i> ],
[ <i>saṇḍ</i> 'spill' + <i>-ŋe</i> 'SUFFIX' 'spilling']	>	[ <i>saŋŋe</i> ], [ <i>nand</i> 'live' + <i>-ŋe</i> 'living'] > [ <i>nanŋe</i> ],
[ <i>čemb</i> 'catch between' + <i>-ŋe</i> 'SUFFIX' 'catching between']	>	[ <i>čemŋe</i> ], [ <i>komb</i> 'stuff hurriedly' + <i>-ŋe</i> 'SUFFIX' 'stuffing hurriedly'] > [ <i>komŋe</i> ]

### 2.6.11.6 *Deletion of i in -ini*

Feminine nouns formed by adding *-iṇ* to the masculine noun are pluralized by adding *i* at the end: *-iṇi* (see 3.1.2). The first *i* is optionally deleted causing syllable reduction.

SG		PL
[ <i>sonariṇ</i> ] 'goldsmith's wife'	>	[ <i>sonariṇi</i> ] or [ <i>sonarṇi</i> ]
[ <i>kumbhariṇ</i> ] 'potmaker's wife'	>	[ <i>kumbhariṇi</i> ] or [ <i>kumbharṇi</i> ]
[ <i>molkariṇ</i> ] 'maid servant'	>	[ <i>molkariṇi</i> ] or [ <i>molkarṇi</i> ]

### 2.6.12 Vowel to semi-vowel

Semi-vowels *w* and *y* often replace vowels.

#### 2.6.12.1 *i > y and u > w before a*

Stem-final *i* changes to *y* and stem-final *u* changes to *w* before *a*<sup>15</sup> (see 3.1.3.2).

[ <i>dhobi</i> ] 'washerman'	>	<i>dhob-ya</i> 'OBL' - <i>la</i> 'DAT'] 'to the washerman'
[ <i>laḍu</i> ] 'a type of dessert'	>	[ <i>laḍ-wa</i> 'OBL' - <i>ca</i> 'POSS'] 'of the dessert'
[ <i>cori</i> ] 'theft'	>	[ <i>cor-ya</i> 'PL'] 'thefts'

[*nədi*] ‘river’ > [*nəd-ya* ‘PL’] ‘rivers’  
 [*sasu*] ‘mother-in-law’ > [*sas-wa* ‘PL’] ‘mothers-in-law’  
 [*dāhi*] ‘curds’ > [*dāh-ya* ‘OBL’ -*ce* ‘POSS’] ‘of curds’  
 [*kuṇku*] ‘a red cosmetic powder used by Hindu women’ > [*kuṇk-wa* ‘OBL’ -*ca* ‘POSS’] ‘of the red powder’

#### 2.6.12.2 *e/ə or o > y before a*

Stem-final *e/ə* and *o* change to *y* before *a* in a few words:

[*təle*] ‘lake’ > [*təl-ya*- ‘OBL’ -*t* ‘PP’] ‘in the lake’  
 [*to*] ‘he’ > [*t-ya* ‘OBL’ -*la* ‘DAT’] ‘him’  
 [*ge* ‘go’ -*lo* ‘PERF(1MSG)’] (I) ‘went’ > [*ge-l* ‘PERF’ -*ya* ‘OBL’ -*wər* ‘PP’] ‘after going’  
 [*kheḷ*] ‘play’ -*ṇe* ‘SUF’] ‘playing’ > [*kheḷṇ-ya* ‘OBL’ -*saṭhi* ‘PP’] ‘for playing’  
 [*ne*] ‘carry’ > [*nya-wa* ‘DES’] ‘should carry’  
 [*ghe*] ‘take’ > [*ghya-wa* ‘DES’] ‘should take’  
 [*bhi*] ‘fear’ > [*bhya-la* ‘PERF-3MSG’] ‘(he) feared’

#### 2.6.12.3 *The vowel sequence ae > y or e*

The vowel sequence *ae* changes optionally to *y* after a vowel or it changes to *e* after a vowel other than *e* (see 3.4.4.1):

- (1) (*to*) *kheḷ-to* – *a(h)e* > *kheḷtoy* / *kheḷtoe*  
 (he) play-IMP-3MSG – Be-PRES  
 ‘(He) is playing.’
- (2) (*ti*) *kheḷ-ti* / *kheḷ-te* *a(h)e* > *ti kheḷtiye* / *kheḷtie* / *kheḷtey*  
 (she) play-IMP-FSG Be-PRES  
 ‘(She) is playing.’

#### 2.6.12.4 *VuC > Vw before a*

*u* between a vowel and a consonant changes to *w* when the consonant is followed by *a*:

[*deuḷ*] ‘temple’ > [*dewḷ-a-t*] ‘in the temple’  
 [*paus*] ‘rain’ > [*paws-a-t*] ‘in the rain’

But to the words such as *gaun* ‘gown’, *ṭaun* ‘town’ borrowed from English, this does not apply.

### 2.7 Intonation

There are five main intonation patterns in Marathi.

### 2.7.1 Rising

Rising intonation is used in yes/no or polarity questions. There is a gradual rise in pitch and normally the final word takes the high level of pitch. The word that takes the high pitch is indicated by bold face.

- (3) *tu ye-tos na ↑ / or / tu ye-tos ka ↑*<sup>16</sup>  
 you-2MSG come-IMPF-MSG QTAG Q  
 ‘You are coming, aren’t you?’ / ‘Are you coming?’
- (4) *tu ye-toyəs ↑*  
 you-SG come-IMPF Be-PRES  
 ‘Are you coming?’
- (5) *tu mama-bərobər jaŋar-es mumbəi-la ↑*  
 you-2MSG uncle-PP go-PROSP Be-PRES-2MSG Mumbai-PP  
 ‘Are you going to go to Mumbai with your uncle?’
- (6) *tu əuʃədʰ ɣhet-lə-s ka dəkʈr-a-n-ni*  
 you medicine-NSG take-PERF-NSG-2SG Q doctor-OBL-PL-ERG  
*di-lelə ↑*  
 give-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Did you take the medicine the doctor gave you?’

### 2.7.2 Falling

Falling intonation is used in statements and imperatives, *wh*- or lacunal questions. The pitch level gradually falls as the utterance comes to an end. The word where the fall begins is in bold face.

- (7) *tya-ca mama nighoj-la ge-la ↓*  
 he-GEN uncle-MSG Nighoj-PP go-PERF-MSG  
 ‘His uncle went to Nighoj.’
- (8) *to kuʈhe gela ↓*  
 he-MSG where go-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Where did he go?’
- (9) *tu ɣəppə bəs ↓*  
 you-SG PHR V: quietly sit-IMP-SG  
 ‘Sit quietly / keep quiet.’

### 2.7.3 Level

Level intonation is used with different purposes. The pitch-level is sustained – it does not fall or rise. In statements, level intonation indicates that the speaker has not finished. In narration and story-telling one often finds its use:

- (10) *aṭpaṭ nāgər*                      *hotə →*                      *tithe ek rājā*                      *hota →*  
 a type of town-3NSG Be-PAST-3NSG there a king-3MSG Be-PAST-3MSG  
 ‘There was a town. There lived a king in it.’

In yes/no questions it shows persuasiveness and politeness:

- (11) *tu*                      *jewlas*                      *ka →*  
 you-MSG eat-PERF-MSG Q  
 ‘Did you eat?’

In wh-questions it indicates politeness and sometimes a mild reproach:

- (12) *tujhə*                      *naw*                      *kay →*  
 you-GEN name what  
 ‘What is your name?’ (an adult speaking to a child)
- (13) *tu-la*                      *kay*                      *kər-ayc-əy →*  
 you-DAT what do-PRED-NSG-Be-PRES  
 ‘What does it matter to you.’ (the speaker showing mild disapproval for the listener’s inquisitiveness)

In Imperatives it shows the speaker’s annoyance:

- (14) *khali*                      *bəs →*  
 down sit-IMP-2SG  
 ‘Why don’t you sit down?’
- (15) *gəp*                      *bəs*                      *na*                      *jəra →*  
 PHR V: quiet sit-IMP-SG PART a bit  
 ‘Keep quiet a bit’ OR  
 ‘Why don’t you shut up?’

### 2.7.4 Reversal in use

The use of rising intonation in statements, wh-questions and imperatives shows surprise, amusement, shock, irritation and there is a difference in the presupposition. In short, reversing the use of rising and falling intonations has an emotive function:



- (16) *tu ye -š -il* ↑<sup>17</sup>  
 you come-NP-FUT  
 ‘What? – You are coming?’

(The speaker expresses his surprise. The speaker presupposes that the addressee would not come. There is a steep rise which distinguishes it from the ordinary yes/no question.)

- (17) *kuṭhe ja-ṇar-es tu* ↑  
 where go-PROSP-Be-PRES-SG you-SG  
 ‘You are going somewhere?’

(The speaker presupposes that the addressee is going somewhere and is surprised by the fact that he is going rather than by the place where he is going.)<sup>18</sup>

- (18) *aj kay kam kaḍh-lə* ↑  
 today what business-3NSG draw-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘What kind of business have you got (with me) today?’  
 (The speaker expresses friendliness and mild surprise.)

- (19) *de na re* ↑  
 give-IMP ASSR PART VOC  
 ‘Please give it to me.’

- (20) *saṇ ki re* ↑  
 tell-IMP PART VOC  
 ‘Please tell me.’

(In both these imperatives the speaker is insistently persuading the addressee to do something.)

- (21) *tujha mama nighoj-la ge-la* ↑  
 you-GEN uncle-3MSG Nighoj-PP go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Did your uncle really go to Nighoj?’

- (22) *aj rəwiwar ahe* ↑  
 today Sunday Be-PRES  
 ‘Is it Sunday today?’

(In both these utterances the speaker is surprised by the possibility of the statement being true.)

### 2.7.5 Drawled

A drawled intonation is used in statements. There is a high pitch and the tonic syllable gets lengthened and loud. This intonation is used in statements to emphasize a particular word in it in order to convey a special meaning. Compare the following pairs. The syllable that gets the drawled intonation is in bold face.<sup>19</sup>

- (23) *majhə tyačawər **pre** Σ *m ahe* ↓*  
 I-GEN his-PP love Be-PRES  
 ‘It’s love that I have for him.’
- (24) *majhə tyač-a-wər **khu** Σ *p prem a:he**  
 my he-OBL-PP very much love Be-PRES  
 ‘I love him very much.’
- (25) *tujhə mama nighoj-la **ge**-la Σ ↓*  
 you-GEN uncle-3MSG Nighoj-PP go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘(Finally somehow or other) your uncle did go to Nighoj (and I got rid of him).’
- (26) *mi sinema-la ja-**ṇar**-e ↓*  
 I-SG movie-DAT go-PROS-Be-PRES-SG  
 ‘I am going to see a movie.’
- (27) *mi sinema-la ja-**ṇar**-e Σ ↓*  
 I-SG movie-PP go-PROSP-Be-PRES-SG  
 ‘I AM going to see a movie (whatever happens / whatever you say).’
- (28) *mi ja-**ṇar** nahi*  
 I go-PROSP NEG  
 ‘I won’t go.’
- (29) *mi **muḷi** Σ *c ja-ṇar nahi**  
 I at all go-PROSP NEG  
 ‘I won’t go at all.’

The opposite of drawled intonation is an abruptly ended or truncated intonation which also results in making one syllable extra loud. The pitch neither falls nor rises nor is extended but is abruptly stopped.<sup>20</sup>

- (30) *mama kuṭhə **gela** / ↓*  
 uncle-MSG where go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Where did uncle go?’  
 (The speaker is surprised that the addressee is asking him the question.)

### 2.7.6 Rise-fall

The rise-fall intonation is not very frequent in Marathi but is used for special effect:

- (31) *mama nighoj-la ge-la^*  
 uncle-3MSG Nighoj-PP go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Uncle went to Nighoj.’

This is used especially when talking to children in a teasing or playful way. Sentences with the rise-fall intonation at the end have the rhythm of a verse:

- (32) *dar-i ambya-či koy^ gə khipati-la*  
 door-LOC mango-POSS seed address-term (F) sweetmeats-PP  
*kahy^ gə*  
 what address-term (F)  
 ‘There is a mango-seed at the door. So what do you have as sweetmeats?’

### 2.7.7 Fall-rise

Similarly the fall-rise intonation also is not very common in Marathi and is used only for special effect. It is normally used in interjections.

- (33) *^əggəbai*  
 (It is used by women to express surprise in a loud way and with a tinge of censure.)  
 (34) *^əre dewa* ‘Oh God!’  
 (35) *^əre rama* ‘Oh Ram!’  
 (36) *^čamari* ‘an abusive expression’  
 (It is used by men for expressing embarrassment and surprise openly.)

### 2.7.8 Juncture

Consider the following sentences in which the symbol [•] indicates juncture:

- (37) *to weḍamaṇus ahe*  
 he-MSG mad-fellow Be-PRES-SG  
 ‘He is a mad fellow.’  
 (38) *to weḍa • maṇus ahe*  
 that madman human being-MSG Be-PRES-SG  
 ‘That madman is a human being.’

- (39) *to maṇusweḍa ahe*  
 he-MSG fond of human beings Be-PRES-SG  
 'He is fond of human beings.'
- (40) *to maṇus • weḍa ahe*  
 that man-MSG mad-MSG Be-PRES-SG  
 'That man is mad.'
- (41) *dhṛti-či lekr-e*  
 earth-POSS child-PL  
 'Children of the earth.'
- (42) *dhṛ • ti-či lekr-e*  
 hold-IMP she-GEN child-PL  
 'Hold her children.'
- (43) *tin-da a-la bičara šeṭh'kakā*  
 three-SUFFIX come-PERF-3MSG poor fellow-3MSG Sheth uncle  
*mhəṇun* ↓ or √  
 saying / calling  
 '(That) poor fellow came thrice calling 'Uncle Sheth!'
- (44) *tin-da a-la bičara šeṭh'kakā mhəṇun* ↓  
 three-SUFFIX come-PERF-MSG poor fellow Sheth uncle saying / calling  
 'Poor Sheth came thrice calling 'Uncle!'

## Notes

1. All vowels in final syllables (CVC) tend to be lengthened especially in pronouncing isolated words or when they are in the sentence final position [gəwə:t] grass, [pə:n] 'but', [phu:l] 'flower', [sangu:n] 'saying', [ti:r] arrow, [jami:n] 'land', [to:l] 'balance', [ke:r] 'dirt', [akhe:r] finally.

Damle considers orthographic symbols and then talks about vowels. That is the reason why he says that in the written word for gəwət 'grass' the final letter contains *t* and *ə* and *ə* is unpronounced.

2. In words borrowed from Sanskrit in which the Sanskrit orthography uses an 'anusvara' on the letter pronounced as a consonantal sound with a nasalized diphthong such as *əū*, *əī* etc. and followed by letters representing the sounds [y] [w], [l] or [r] modern Standard Marathi uses a non-nasalized diphthong. Even in the speech of educated persons [səūwad]/ 'dialogue' becomes [səuwad], [səīyog] 'joining' becomes [səiyog], [səūlagnə] 'adjacent' becomes [səulagnə] and [səūrəkṣəṇ] 'protection' becomes [səurəkṣəṇ], especially in fast speech.

3. Southworth (1971) argues that from Indo-European, Indo-Aryan languages – Marathi is one of them – obtained dental consonants whereas the retroflex consonants were borrowed from Dravidian languages.

4. [ɖ] is pronounced as a plosive as well as a flap. Damle ([1911] 1970) refers to Tarkhadkar's (1836) view that the retroflex [ɖ] has two pronunciations – two variants. He holds that applies to [t] and [r] also.

5. [ŋ] Contrast with other nasals only in the word-final position. It never occurs word-initially. Word medially it occurs only before velar plosives. It has a limited distribution like the [ŋ] in English. We call it a marginal phoneme and therefore in the chart it is put in brackets.

The palatal nasal [ɲ] of Sanskrit in Marathi 'tatsama' words (words identical with Sanskrit words) does not exist. It is replaced by dental *n*. For example Sanskrit words such as [pāñc̥mi] 'fifth day', [sāñj̥ay] 'proper name', [rāñj̥an] have an dental nasal in place of a palatal one: [pān̥c̥mi], [sānj̥ay], [rānj̥an]. The Sanskrit plosives might be palatal in Sanskrit but in Marathi they have moved towards the alveolar region. That is why affricates are described as alveo-palatal.

6. [mh] [nh] [ɳh] [lh] [rh] [wh] are treated as consonant-clusters by the earlier grammarians (see Pandharipande 1997) with the exception of Kalelkar (1955). It is argued that words such as [rha] 'live', [nha] 'take bath', [mhar] 'a low caste', [lhan] 'small', [jhaj] 'ship', [dhā] 'ten', [wahān] 'vehicle' are results of syllable reduction from [r̥ha], [n̥ha], [m̥har] [l̥han], [j̥haj], [d̥ha] and [w̥han]. But words such as [mhəŋ] 'say', [rhəswə] 'short', [kewha] 'when', [tewha] 'then', [pənhe] 'a drink made from raw mangoes', [mālhar] 'proper noun', [kəlhai] 'wash of tin for utensils', [allhad] 'pleasure' cannot be shown to be the result of syllable reduction.

7. It is interesting to note that with the exception of *cy* all other clusters occur in words borrowed from Sanskrit or English. In fact all Sanskrit clusters could be used in Standard Marathi. That would include clusters in words such as [mlen̥chə] 'muslim' [glani] 'sleepiness' etc. The cluster of three consonants (*s + t + r*) which occurs in Sanskrit is retained in Marathi in borrowed words: [straw] 'flow, oozing', [stri] 'woman', [strai̯nə] 'loose in character'. Words borrowed from English would retain all the clusters such as *str* as in [strim] 'stream'. Clusters such as [dr], [tr] occur only in borrowed words from English. This leaves only one initial cluster which is native, [Cy]. This phenomenon also explains why in the subdialects initial clusters are mutilated.

Some grammarians treat [ʃy] also as an initial cluster as in [ʃyam] 'black'. In Marathi orthography also it is sometimes written as a [jodakshara] 'clustered letters'. As far as sound is concerned, however, it is pronounced as [ʃ]. Similarly *čy* is pronounced as *č*.

8. There are no geminates of aspirated consonants as in those the first consonant is deaspirated as in [məṭṭhə] 'stupid'.

9. Pandharipande (1997) gives some examples of word-medial consonant-clusters and geminates. The criteria for selecting only a few are not stated. Damle (1830) refers to gemination – *dvitva* – when talking about Tarkhadkar's treatment of [ɖɖ], but does not give the clusters.

The initial clusters are both word-initial and syllable-initial, unaffected by other sounds and limited in number. The non-initial word-clusters – medial and final – need special consideration. Marathi grammarians are often misled by conjoined-letters – '*jodakshare*' – in this regard. In Marathi there is no word-final cluster (except in words borrowed from English). The written final conjoined letter is always pronounced with [ə] as in [rəktə] 'blood'. This means in Marathi – unlike in Hindi – there is no syllable-final cluster.

One must consider whether the word-medial clusters are retained in the syllabic division of the word or are distributed in two consecutive syllables. In English both are possible: expatriate [eks'pætriət] expropriate [eks'prəʊpriət] and extend [ik'stend] exit ['eksit]. In these words [ks] is distributed differently. In Marathi, the two consonants are always distributed in two syllables; they never belong to the same syllable: [čhə-tri] 'umbrella', [uc-ki] 'hiccup', [bəs-la] 'sat', [kar-lə]

‘bitter melon’, [čək-kər] ‘round’, [pək-ka] ‘permanent’. The geminates are also split like the other clusters. The word-medial cluster of three consonants that occurs in borrowed words also gets split in the syllabic division of the type C’CC as in *mis’tri* ‘mason’, *is’tri* ‘ironing’, *lak’smi* ‘Lakshmi’ etc.

The words [*amhi*] ‘we’, [*kəṇher*] ‘a flower plant’, [*unhat*] ‘in the sunlight’, [*kərha*] ‘a waterpot with mango leaves and coconut on it’, do not have medial clusters; we treat them as aspirated sounds. There is one more support for the aspiration argument. In poetry, traditionally, the letter (= syllable) preceding a clustered-letter (= a cluster) is considered to be long. But in [*tumhi kay dyawe*] ‘what would you give?’ *tu* is never treated as a long syllable.

The word-medial cluster *c* / č+y is always realized phonetically as č. Sometimes, in Morphology (Chapter 3) we transcribe it as čy to show the oblique marker.

10. These four observations show certain tendencies; they are not strict rules as accent is not distinctive in Marathi. There are variants in accent placement. Phonologically accent leads to the lengthening of a vowel.

11. For the other option see Deletion under 2.6.10. In the subdialect even word initial h+o becomes wh+ə as in:

*hoy* > *whəy* ‘yes’, *hota* > *whəta* ‘was’.

12. There are interesting word-games where metathesis becomes inevitable. For example try to say the following continuously:

(1) *cəṭəila təcni təclic*

‘A pin pierced the mat’.

(2) *phaṭka mukṭa dhəḍka mukṭa*

‘Torn piece of clothing, good piece of clothing’.

(3) *kacca papəḍ pəkka papəḍ*

‘Raw wafer-cake well-made wafer-cake’

13. It is difficult to say which form is the original and which one is the result of metathesis. But considering that *b* is not used in reduplicative of this type (see 4.5.1.1), it is better to take *liblib* as the base and change it to *bilbil*. [*l*] is very commonly used in reduplicatives.

14. For the other option see Aspiration under 2.6.3.

15. There are many exceptions to this change. In words such as *hətti* ‘elephant’, *gaḍi* ‘car’, *devi* ‘goddess’ *i* and in words such as *taṭtu* ‘horse’, *hututu* ‘a game’, *hetu* ‘aim’, *wəstu* ‘thing’, *limbu* ‘lemon’ *u* do not change because they cannot be followed by *a*.

16. *ka* and *na* are optional. Once they are removed there is no syntactic difference between a statement and a yes-no question, except for intonation.

Compare:

*tyaca mama nighojla gela* ↑      *tyaca mama nighojla gela* ↓

Did his uncle go to Nighoj?      His uncle went to Nighoj.

17. In this situation the use of the tag-particles /*na*/, /*ka*/ is avoided. In *tu yešil* (*na* / *ka*) ↑ (will you come?), the speaker does not know whether the addressee would come or not.

18. A clear reflection of this is seen in the English of Marathi speakers. Asking yes/no question and the *wh*-question in the form of statement to express surprise are common in their speech: ‘you are going where’ ↑?

19. In writing the drawled intonation is shown by a slanted [s] – single or double – as in:

*mi muḷi s c jaṇar nahi*

'I won't go at all'

Words such as /muḷic/, /əgdi/, /khup/, /pharphar/ are often used in such contexts.

20. Kelkar (1958) calls it a clipped (rising) intonation.





## CHAPTER 3

# Morphology

This chapter is concerned with morphological structures of inflectional categories such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. The chapter also takes into account the classification of adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions and interjections. The important aspect of inflection is that it produces different forms of the same word in a paradigmatic fashion by modifying the basic form of a word.

### 3.0 Parts of speech<sup>1</sup>

Traditional Marathi grammarians posit eight parts of speech. Out of these *nam* (noun), *sarwānam* (pronoun), *wiśeṣaṇ* (adjective), *kriyapād* / *kriya* / *dhatu* (verb) and *kriyawīṣeṣaṇ* (adverb) refer to words that have lexical meaning and undergo inflection. The last three *śabdāyogi aṇyāy* (postposition), *ubhāyanwāyi aṇyāy* (conjoining particle i.e. conjunction), *kewālpṛāyogi* / *udgarwāci aṇyāy* (exclamatory particle i.e. interjection / exclamation) do not have lexical meaning and are normally invariable. Note that traditional grammarians did not allot a special categorial status to the last three categories, which they called particles. Their insight coincides with the distinction between notional and structural parts of speech. The category of articles is absent in Marathi.

### 3.1 Noun

A noun serves several syntactic functions. It may occur as the sentential subject, the direct or indirect object, the modifier of a noun in a compound noun, and as a constituent of a phrasal verb. It co-occurs with various determiners, adjectives and postpositions. It is the head of noun phrase. Morphologically nouns inflect for gender, number, and case. These elements determine its agreement with the verb.

### 3.1.1 Gender

Nouns are inherently masculine, feminine or neuter. Animateness or natural gender are irrelevant for the grammatical gender of nouns. For example, the animate noun *undir* ‘mouse’ is masculine, *ghus* ‘rat’ is feminine and *munḡus* ‘mongoose’ is neuter. On the other hand the inanimate noun *čəha* ‘tea’ is masculine, *kəphi* ‘coffee’ is feminine and *dudh* ‘milk’ is neuter. A sole exception to this randomness is human nouns. But, again there are a few examples such as *əšil* ‘client of a lawyer’, *kutumbə* ‘wife’ (archaic) that refer to a human but are neuter in gender.

#### 3.1.1.1 Derivation of nouns

Many feminine and neuter nouns are derived from masculine nouns as shown below:

- a. If the inherently masculine noun ends in *a*, the corresponding feminine form ends in *i* with certain exceptions. In some cases the pejorative neuter form may end in *e* / *ə* and the feminine *i* form is diminutive or affectionate:

M	F	N
<i>ghoḍa</i> ‘horse’	<i>ghoḍi</i>	<i>ghoḍe/ə</i>
<i>mulga</i> ‘boy’	<i>mulgi</i>	<i>mule/ə</i> (PL)
<i>porga</i> ‘boy’	<i>porgi</i>	<i>porgə</i>
<i>kutra</i> ‘dog’	<i>kutri</i>	<i>kutrə</i>
<i>kaka</i> ‘father’s brother’	<i>kaki/kaku</i>	
<i>səkha</i> ‘friend’	<i>səkhi</i>	
<i>pəṭṭa</i> ‘a large strip’	<i>pəṭṭi</i> ‘small strip’	
<i>arsa</i> ‘mirror’	<i>arši</i> (diminutive)	
<i>gəḍḍa</i> ‘mass’	<i>gəḍḍi</i> ‘bunch’ (diminutive)	
<i>loṭa</i> ‘a water vessel’	<i>loṭi</i> ‘small water vessel’	
<i>sura</i> ‘knife’	<i>suri</i> ‘table knife’ (diminutive)	
<i>goṭa</i> ‘a big stone’	<i>goṭi</i> ‘a small stone’ (diminutive)	
<i>budhla</i> ‘an oil vessel made from leather’	<i>budhli</i> ‘small oil vessel’ (diminutive)	

- b. If the inherently masculine noun ends in a consonant, the corresponding feminine form may end in *i* as in (b1) or in *ni* as in (b2):

(b1)

M	F
<i>həriṇ</i> 'deer'	<i>həriṇi</i>
<i>beḍuk</i> 'frog'	<i>beḍki</i>
<i>dew</i> 'god'	<i>dewi</i> 'goddess'
<i>təruṇ</i> 'young man'	<i>təruṇi</i> 'young woman'
<i>kumar</i> 'boy'	<i>kumari</i> 'girl'
<i>das</i> 'male servant'	<i>dasi</i> 'female servant'

(b2)

M	F
<i>wagh</i> 'tiger'	<i>waghin</i> 'tigress'
<i>mastar</i> 'male teacher'	<i>mastarin</i> 'female teacher'
<i>koḷi</i> 'fisherman'	<i>koḷin</i> 'wife of fisherman'
<i>wyahi</i> 'father in law of one's son'	<i>wihin</i> 'mother in law of one's son'
<i>paṭil</i> 'village head'	<i>paṭlin</i> 'wife of village-head'

- c. If the inherently feminine noun ends in *i*, the corresponding masculine form may end in *a* showing largeness:

M	F
<i>pəḷi</i> 'ladle'	<i>pəḷa</i>
<i>gaḍi</i> 'cart or vehicle'	<i>gaḍa</i>
<i>poḷi</i> 'a food item made from wheat'	<i>poḷa</i> (pejorative)
<i>čəḍḍi</i> 'underwear'	<i>čəḍḍa</i> (pejorative)

### 3.1.2 Number

Nouns show a distinction between singular and plural number. (There is no inflection for dual or trial number.) Number marking is obligatory. A singular noun in its base form is inflected to derive the plural form. The inflection is cued to the gender and the stem-final phoneme. Note that plurality in proper nouns, and in some address forms is rare. Abstract nouns such as *prem* 'love', *gulamgiri* 'slavery' also do not have plural forms as semantically plurality is odd in such cases. However, there are certain exceptions.

For example *rup* 'beauty' (SG) – *rupe* 'beauty' (PL), *wagṇuk* 'behaviour' – *wagṇuk-i* 'behaviour' (PL).

## Plural inflection

Stem final	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
C	Ø <i>khamb</i> > <i>khamb</i> 'pillar / pillars'	<i>a, i</i> <i>laṭ</i> > <i>laṭa</i> 'wave / waves' <i>pal</i> > <i>pali</i> 'lizard / lizards' <i>mirāwṇuk</i> > <i>mirāwṇuki</i> / <i>mirāwṇuka</i> 'procession / processions'	<i>ə / e</i> <i>ghar</i> > <i>gharə</i> / <i>ghare</i> 'house / houses'
ə	Ø <i>bhaktə</i> > <i>bhaktə</i> 'devotee / devotees'	<i>i</i> <i>ratrə</i> > <i>ratri</i> 'night / nights'	Ø / <i>e</i> <i>pətrə</i> > <i>pətrə</i> / <i>pətre</i> 'letter / letters'
a	<i>e</i> <i>amba</i> > <i>ambe</i> 'mango / mangoes'	Ø <i>śaḷa</i> > <i>śaḷa</i> 'school / schools'	
i	Ø <i>hətti</i> / <i>hətti</i> 'elephant / elephants'	<i>ya</i> <i>čimṇi</i> / <i>čimṇya</i> 'sparrow / sparrows'	Ø <i>paṇi</i> / <i>paṇi</i> 'water / waters' (rare)
u	Ø <i>wincu</i> > <i>wincu</i> 'scorpion / scorpions' <i>kaku</i> / <i>kaku</i> 'aunty / aunts'	<i>wa</i> / Ø <i>sasu</i> > <i>saswa</i> 'mother-in-law / mothers-in-law' <i>saḷu</i> > <i>saḷu</i> 'porcupine / porcupines'	<i>e / ə</i> <i>limbu</i> > <i>limbe</i> / <i>limbə</i> 'lemon / lemons' <i>wə</i> / <i>we</i> <i>gəḷu</i> > <i>gaḷwə</i> / <i>gəḷwe</i> 'boil / boils'
<i>e / ə</i>			<i>i</i> <i>keḷə</i> / <i>keḷe</i> > <i>keḷi</i> 'banana / bananas'

## Exceptional nouns

Stem final	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
<i>i</i>		Ø / <i>ya</i> <i>gopi</i> > <i>gopi</i> / <i>gopya</i> 'female cowherd / female cowherds' <i>dewi</i> > <i>dewi</i> / <i>dewya</i> 'goddess / goddesses'	
<i>i</i>		Ø <i>dasi</i> > <i>dasi</i> 'maid / maids'	

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<i>iṇ</i>	<i>i</i> <i>ḍəkṭrīṇ &gt; ḍəkṭərṇi</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>a</i> <i>bayko &gt; bayka</i> 'wife / wives'

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Observations:

- Masculine nouns have the same singular and plural forms except those ending in *a*.
- Feminine nouns ending in *C*, *i*, *u* take *a* / *ya* / *w* as plural markers.
- Neuter nouns ending in *C*, *u*, *ə*, may take *ə* / *e* / *w* as a plural marker. The first two i.e. *C*, *u* can optionally take 'ə'. A few nouns ending in a consonant take *i* as a plural marker.
- Nouns ending in *o* are rare. They are found in some old fashioned personal names such as *moro*, *dhonḍo*, *ragho*, *ḍatto* and some others.

### 3.1.3 Case<sup>2</sup>

Case marking in Marathi is not cued to any particular grammatical role such as subject or object. Morphologically a case may be realized by a zero marker as in the nominative as in *ram* (Ram-MSG) *ala* (come-PERF) i.e. 'Ram came' or as a complex of adpositions, which mark the nouns with certain suffixes as in (i) *ram-a-la* (Ram-a-DAT), (ii) *sit-e-la* (Sita-e-DAT), *ghoḍ-ya-la* (horse-ya-DAT). The suffixes preceding these case markers i.e. *a*, *e*, *ya* before dative, vary according to gender, number and stem-final element of the governing noun. Some grammarians have classified these suffixes as realizations of an oblique case, contrasting this oblique case with the morphologically unmarked nominative, which they call the direct case. According to these grammarians Marathi has only a direct and an oblique case. They categorize markers such as DAT as adpositions. These adpositions are somewhat similar to postpositions. It is interesting to note that the postpositions too are preceded by similar oblique suffixes. However there is a difference as noted by Damle as early as 1911. The true postpositions have a wide semantic range. The set of adpositions mark only the arguments of the verb. They essentially refer to the theta roles – such as agent, experiencer/dative – of their nouns. Secondly, the true postpositions are separable entities. A clitic may intervene between a postposition and the governing noun as in (2). The so-called adpositions are inseparable from the noun as exemplified in (1).

## Adposition:

- (1) *ram-a-la* / \**ram-a-cya-la*                      *bore*    *dya*  
 Ram-OBL-DAT / Ram-OBL-clitic-DAT    berries    give-IMP  
 ‘Give berries to Ram.’

## Postposition:

- (2) *ram-a-pasun* / *ram-a-cya-pasun*    *dur*    *ja*  
 Ram-OBL-PP / Ram-OBL-clitic-PP    away    go-IMP  
 ‘Go away from Ram.’

In this book we take these adpositions to be representing various cases such as nominative, dative, and possessive which correspond to the traditional analysis. Case and adpositions are syntactically equivalent. Both spell the theta roles of their nouns. In addition we adopt the currently accepted analysis that Marathi is a split ergative language. Marathi shows both a nominative and an ergative case system. In the nominative-accusative system the verb agrees with the subject. In the ergative-absolutive system the verb agrees with the object (Dixon 1979, 1994; Bobaljik 1992). Chapter 5 explains the agreement complexity.

Here we note down the core case paradigm:

Case	Marker	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	Ø	Ø
Accusative	<i>la</i>	<i>na</i>
Ergative	<i>ne</i>	<i>ni</i>
Dative	<i>la</i>	<i>na</i>
Ablative	( <i>h</i> ) <i>un</i>	( <i>h</i> ) <i>un</i>
Genitive/possessive	<i>ca</i> / <i>či</i> / <i>ce</i>	<i>ce</i> / <i>ča</i> / <i>či</i>
Locative	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>

## Observations:

- The accusative and dative have the same suffix *la*, which will be glossed DAT unless it is necessary to show ACC.
- The ergative in the traditional grammar is called instrumental or *trutiya*. It will be glossed ERG.
- The genitive / possessive suffixes inflect for gender.
- The ablative and the locative have the status of postpositions. They will be glossed as PP.
- Case variants are used under certain conditions: DAT: *sə*, *la*, *te* : *sə*, *la*, *na*, *te*; ERG: *ne*, *e*, *ši* : *ni*, *hi*, *i*, *ši*; LOC: *t*, *at*, *i*, *a*.

### 3.1.3.1 Nominative case

The nominative or the direct case is unmarked<sup>3</sup> and the verb agrees with it. The relations between the direct case and subject, object status and verb agreement etc. are discussed under syntax.

### 3.1.3.2 Oblique case

The nominative is unmarked and has no oblique marker. The ergative, dative, possessive, and others are preceded by an oblique marker as noted above. Nouns take an oblique marker before a postposition also. In both the choice of the oblique marker is conditioned by the stem-final consonant vowel of the noun and by its gender. The following table indicates the structure of nouns with the oblique marker followed by the dative *la* and the postposition *wər* 'on'. The singular form of the noun with the inherent gender marker is taken as the base. All the plural forms add the suffix *n* before their respective case or PP as in *ghər-a-n-na* (house-OBL-PL-DAT) 'to the houses'. This *n* is at times replaced by nasalization of the preceding vowel.<sup>4</sup>

Table for oblique markers:

The nouns are followed by the dative suffix *-la* / *-s* and the PP *wər* 'on', *saṭhi* 'for'

Base- ending	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
C	<i>khamb-a-la</i> 'to the pillar' <i>khamb-a-wər</i> 'on the pillar'	<i>laṭ-e-la</i> 'to the wave' <i>laṭ-e-wər</i> 'on the wave' <i>pal-i-ne</i> 'by the lizard' <i>pal-i-wər</i> 'on the lizard'	<i>-a</i> <i>ghar-a-la</i> 'to the house'
ə	<i>-a</i> <i>bhəkt-a-la</i> 'to the devotee' <i>bhəkt-a-saṭhi</i> 'for the devotee'	<i>-i</i> <i>ratr-i-la</i> 'at / to night' <i>ratr-i-saṭhi</i> 'for the night'	<i>-a</i> <i>patr-a-s</i> 'to the letter' <i>pətr-a-wər</i> 'on the letter'
a	<i>-ya</i> <i>amb-ya-la</i> 'to a mango' <i>amb-ya-saṭhi</i> 'for a mango'	<i>-e</i> <i>śaḷ-e-wər</i> 'on school' <i>śaḷ-e-wər</i> 'on school'	
i	<i>-Ø</i> <i>hətti-Ø-la</i> 'to the elephant' <i>hətti-Ø-wər</i> 'on the elephant'	<i>-Ø</i> <i>čimṇi-Ø-la</i> 'to the sparrow' <i>čimṇi-Ø-wər</i> 'on the sparrow'	<i>-ya</i> <i>paṇ-ya-la</i> 'to the water' <i>paṇ-ya-saṭhi</i> 'for water'
-u	<i>-wa</i> <i>winc-wa-la</i> 'to a scorpion' <i>winc-wa-wər</i> 'on the scorpion'		<i>-a</i> <i>limb-a-la</i> 'to the lemon' <i>limb-a-saṭhi</i> 'for a lemon'
i	<i>-Ø</i> <i>kaju-Ø-la</i> 'to a cashew' <i>kaju-Ø-wər</i> 'on the cashew'		

-e / ə

-ya

keḷ-ya-la 'to a banana'

keḷ-ya-wər 'on a banana'

## Observations:

- $c > \check{c}$  in the presence of the oblique marker -ya.
- Exceptions: *teli* > *tel-ya-la* (M) 'to the oil-maker', *jau* > *ja-we-la* (F) 'to the brother-in-law's wife', *bi* > *bi-ce* (N) 'of a seed'.
- The oblique marking is elided in the case of the letters of the alphabet and names of countries with certain exceptions.
- The oblique marking is also elided in the case of proper nouns. In the following examples the alternant forms with a question mark at the beginning are odd; those with an asterisk impossible.

## Masculine:

- wiwēk*: *wiwēk-la* / ?*wiwēk-a-la* 'to Vivek'  
Vivek-DAT / Vivek-OBL-DAT
- prāsənnə*: *prāsənnə-la* / ?*prāsənn-a-la* 'to Prasanna'  
Prasanna-DAT / Prasanna-OBL-DAT
- raju*: *raju-la* / \**raj-wa-la* 'to Raju'  
Raju-DAT / Raju-OBL-DAT

## Feminine:

- wijəya*: *wijəya-la* / ?*wijəy-e-la* 'to Vijaya'  
Vijaya-DAT / Vijaya-OBL-DAT
- kəməḷ*: *kəməḷ-la* / ?*kəməḷ-e-la* / \**kəməḷ-i-la* 'to Kamal'  
Kamal-DAT / Kamal-OBL-DAT / Kamal-OBL-DAT

In ə ending proper nouns both non-oblique and oblique forms are possible:

- |                 |                                       |              |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>kruṣṇə</i> : | <i>kruṣṇə-la</i> OR <i>kruṣṇ-a-la</i> | 'to Krushna' |
| <i>dattə</i> :  | <i>dattə-la</i> OR <i>datt-a-la</i>   | 'to Datta'   |
| <i>baḷu</i> :   | <i>baḷu-la</i> OR <i>baḷ-ya-la</i>    | 'to Balu'    |

The oblique -ya is used by men for all masculine proper nouns to show contempt, disrespect or intimacy:

- |                |                   |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>mədhu</i> : | <i>mədḥ-ya-la</i> | <i>gogṭe</i> : | <i>gogṭ-ya-la</i> |
|                | Madhu-OBL-DAT     |                | Gogate-OBL-DAT    |
|                | 'to Madhu'        |                | 'to Gogate'       |



*u*-ending proper nouns tend to have alternant forms:

*māhadu*: *māhadu-la* / *māhad-ya-la* ‘to Mahadu’; but *u*-ending feminine proper nouns tend to have only one form: *weṇu*: *weṇu-la* ‘to Venu’.

### 3.1.3.3 *Vocative case*

The vocative case is used for addressing, calling, or drawing someone’s attention. It is preceded by special address forms:

- a. Addressee masculine singular: Familiar: *e*, *he*, *re*, *əre*; honorific: *əho* (honorific), *o* (hey!). Note that forms such as *əga* and *əji* are obsolete but are sometimes found in poetry: *əga wəikuṇṭhi-ča raḷa re* ‘O king of Waikuntha!’
- b. Addressee feminine singular: Familiar: *əgə*, *gə*, *he* (hey).
- c. Addressee neuter singular: *he*, *ba*, (*ga*: obsolete).
- d. Addressee plural / honorific: *əho*, *he*, *əga* and *əji* (obsolete) ‘Oh’.
- e. Address terms such as *re*, *gə*, *əho* are often used with the question particle *ka*: *ka re*, *ka gə*, *ka ho*.

It is interesting to note that as is the case with the nominative the vocative has no overt case marker of its own. However there is a difference. Vocatives for both singular and plural nouns show an oblique form. This oblique form acts as the address form in the singular. In the plural the oblique form is followed by *n-no*. One may then say that the vocative has a case marker though it is not overt. The vocative case-marker *ho* as in (4) occurs only with the masculine plural or honorific singular nouns:

- (3) *əre mul-a*; *əgə muli*  
‘Hey boy-OBL’; ‘Hey girl’
- (4) *šrote ho*; *mitrə-ho* / *mitra-n-no*  
audience-VOC-PL friends-VOC / friends-OBL-VOC-PL  
‘Audience’ ‘Friends’
- (5) *əho baba*; *əho bai* *əgə ai*  
‘Hey father’, ‘Hey teacher’, ‘Hey mother’
- (6) *ye-t-os* *ka re?*  
come-IMPf-2FSG Q VOC(M)  
‘Would you come?’
- (7) *ye-t-es* *ka gə?*  
come-IMPf-2MSG Q VOC(F)  
‘Would you come?’

### 3.2 Pronoun

There are six major types of pronouns; (i) Personal pronouns; (ii) Reflexive pronouns; (iii) Reciprocals; (iv) Demonstratives; (v) Interrogatives; (vi) Relatives and correlatives; and (vi) Indefinites. All pronouns are inflected for gender, number and case as described below. Pronouns like nouns take oblique forms before case-PPs and other postpositions.<sup>5</sup> The syntactic properties of pronouns are stated in Chapter 11 on lexical pronouns and anaphors.

#### 3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The first and second person pronouns do not have distinct masculine and feminine forms. The gender distinction appears in the verbal agreement for the singular forms only. The plural forms show no such distinction. The use of second person singular indicates familiarity and / or intimacy. A specialty of these pronouns is that their ergative form is the same as their nominative form. Third person pronouns duplicate as deictic forms and have proximal and distal variants. They vary along the gender line. They all have distinct plural forms.<sup>6</sup>

##### 3.2.1.1 First person

Marathi makes a distinction between exclusive and inclusive reference in the 1st person plural nominative only. *amhi* means ‘we’ – excluding ‘you’; *apəŋ* means ‘we’ – including the hearer.

Case	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>mi</i>	<i>amhi</i>
ACC	<i>mə-la</i>	<i>amha-la</i>
ERG	<i>majha-ne</i>	<i>amča-ne</i>
DAT	<i>mə-la</i>	<i>amha-la</i>
ABL	<i>majha-kəḍun</i>	<i>amča-kəḍun</i>
POSS	<i>majha</i> (M) / <i>majhi</i> (F) / <i>majhe</i> / <i>majhə</i> (N)	<i>amca</i> (M) / <i>amči</i> (F) / <i>amce</i> / <i>amcə</i> (N)
LOC	<i>majha-t</i>	<i>amča-t</i>

The ergative *mi* + *ne* is always realized as *mi*; in old Marathi writings *ne* was indicated by using an *anuswar* (a dot above the letter). The same applies to *amhi* + *ne*.

##### 3.2.1.2 Second person

The second person plural *tumhi* (often pronounced as *tummhi*) has an honorific use as well. The formal respect form is *apəŋ*.

Case	Singular	Plural	Respect
NOM	<i>tu</i>	<i>tumhi</i>	<i>apən</i>
ACC	<i>tu-la</i>	<i>tumha-la</i>	<i>aplya-la</i> / <i>apṇa-la</i>
ERG	<i>tujha-ne</i>	<i>tumča-ne</i>	<i>aplya-ne</i>
DAT	<i>tu-la</i>	<i>tumha-la</i>	<i>aplya-la</i> / <i>apṇa-la</i>
ABL	<i>tuj-kəḍun</i>	<i>tumča-kəḍun</i> / <i>tumha-kəḍun</i>	<i>aplya-kəḍun</i> / <i>apṇa-kəḍun</i>
POSS	<i>tujha</i> (M) / <i>tuji</i> (F) / <i>tujhe</i> (N)	<i>tumca</i> (M) / <i>tumči</i> (F) / <i>tumce</i> (N)	<i>apla</i> (M) / <i>apli</i> (F) / <i>aple</i> (N)
LOC	<i>tujha-t</i>	<i>tumča-t</i>	<i>aplya-t</i> / <i>apṇa-t</i>

Like *mi* + *ne* the ergative form *tu* + *ne* also is realized as *tu* and in old writing system *ne* was indicated by using an *anuswar*, that is by putting a dot above *tu*. The same applies to *tumhi* + *ne*.

### 3.2.1.3 Third person

Singular forms of distal deictic

Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
NOM	<i>to</i> (he)	<i>ti</i> (she)	<i>te</i> (it)
ACC	<i>to</i> / <i>tya-la</i>	<i>ti</i> / <i>ti-la</i>	<i>te</i> / <i>tya-la</i>
ERG	<i>tya-ne</i>	<i>ti-ne</i>	<i>tya-ne</i>
DAT	<i>tya-la</i>	<i>ti-la</i>	<i>tya-la</i>
ABL	<i>tya-ča-kəḍun</i>	<i>ti-ča-kəḍun</i>	<i>tya-ča-kəḍun</i>
POSS	<i>tya-ce</i>	<i>ti-ce</i>	<i>tya-ce</i> / <i>tya-cə</i>
LOC	<i>tya-t</i> / <i>tya-ča-t</i>	<i>ti-t</i> / <i>ti-ča-t</i>	<i>tya-t</i> / <i>tya-ča-t</i>

Plural forms of distal deictic

Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
NOM	<i>te</i> (they)	<i>tya</i> (they)	<i>ti</i> (they)
ACC	<i>te</i> / <i>tya-nna</i>	<i>tya</i> / <i>tya-nna</i>	<i>ti</i> / <i>tya-nna</i>
INST	<i>tya-nni</i>	<i>tya-nni</i>	<i>tya-nni</i>
DAT	<i>tya-nna</i>	<i>tya-nna</i>	<i>tya-nna</i>
ABL	<i>tya-n-ča-kəḍun</i>	<i>tya-n-ča-kəḍun</i>	<i>tya-n-ča-kəḍun</i>
POSS	<i>tya-n-ce</i>	<i>tya-n-ce</i>	<i>tya-n-ce</i> / <i>tya-n-ca</i>
LOC	<i>tya-t</i> / <i>tya-n-ča-t</i>	<i>tya-t</i> / <i>tya-n-ča-t</i>	<i>tya-t</i> / <i>tya-n-ča-t</i>

It is interesting to note that there is no neuter gender in the first and second person pronouns and even in the verb forms referring to them. For example in (8) *makəḍ* ‘monkey’ is NSG but the verb-form *pəḷto* shows that the pronoun *mi* is masculine singular:

- (8) *makəḍ mhəṇa-le ki mi pəḷ-to.*  
monkey-NSG say-PERF that I-MSG run-IMPF-MSG  
‘Monkey said that he would run.’

Third person personal pronouns can be used as nominal modifiers:<sup>7</sup>

- (9) *to gərib kay kar-ŋar*  
 he poor Q do-PROSP  
 ‘What can he – a poor man – do?’

### 3.2.2 Reflexive pronouns

There are two reflexive forms: *swətəha* and *apəŋ*. Both forms inflect for case and postpositions. They do not vary for number or gender. Ergative forms of reflexives are never used.

Case	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>swətəha</i>	<i>apəŋ</i>
ACC	<i>swətəha-la</i>	<i>apŋa-la / aplyā-la</i>
DAT	<i>swətəha-la</i>	<i>apŋa-la / aplyā-la</i>
ABL	<i>swətəha-pasun</i>	<i>aplyā / apŋas-pasun</i>
POSS	<i>swətəha-ca / čī / ce</i>	<i>apla / apli / aple</i>
LOC	<i>swətəha-t / swətət</i>	<i>aplyā-t</i>

The pronoun *apəŋ* occupies a special position in Marathi. It is used as an inclusive first person plural, as an honorific in second person singular or plural, and as a reflexive (see 3.2.1.1, 3.2.1.2).

### 3.2.3 Reciprocal pronouns

There are two types of reciprocals: Mutual and Reflexive (see Chapter 11 for details). The forms of the mutual reciprocals are: *ekmek*, *ekdusr-a*, *pəraspər* (a Sanskrit borrowing used for animate nouns only). The forms of the reflexive reciprocals are: *apapl-a*, *tyan-na tyan-na*. All reciprocals require plural antecedents and use only the plural forms. The singular forms are for paradigmatic tidiness only. They are never in the nominative case either.

Mutual reciprocal pronouns:

- ACC: *ekmek-a-la / ekmek-an-na* ‘each other’  
 ERG: *ekmek-an-ni* ‘by each other’  
 DAT: *ekmek-a-la / ekmek-an-na* ‘to each other’  
 ABL: *ekmek-an-pasun* ‘from each other’  
 POSS: *ekmek-a-ca / ekmek-an-ca* ‘of each other’  
 LOC: *ekmek-a-t / ekmek-an-mədhe* ‘in each other’

Reflexive reciprocal pronouns:

- ACC: *apapl-ya-la* / *apapl-yan-na* ‘to ....selves’  
 ERG: *apapl-yan-ni* ‘by ....selves’  
 DAT: *apal-yan-na* ‘to ...selves’  
 ABL: *apapl-ya-pasun* ‘from ....selves’  
 POSS: *apapl-yan-ca* ‘of ....selves’  
 LOC: *apapl-ya-t* ‘among ....selves’

- (10) *tya-n-ni*                      *ekmek-an-ce*                      *buṭ*    *ghat-le*  
 they-OBL(PL)-ERG each other-OBL(PL)-POSS shoes wear-PERF  
 ‘They put on – each others shoes’
- (11) *tya-n-ni*                      *apaple*                      *buṭ*    *ghat-le*  
 they-OBL(PL)-ERG of themselves shoes wear-PERF  
 ‘They put on their –own shoes’

### 3.2.4 Demonstrative pronouns

Third person pronouns are used as demonstrative pronouns.

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Oblique with dative
Singular	Distal	<i>to</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i> (that)	<i>tyala</i> / <i>tila</i> (to that)
	Proximal	<i>ha</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>he</i> (this)	<i>hyala</i> / <i>hila</i> (to this)
Plural	Distal	<i>te</i>	<i>tya</i>	<i>ti</i> (those)	<i>tyanna</i> (to those)
	Proximal	<i>he</i>	<i>hya</i>	<i>hya</i> (these)	<i>hyanna</i> (to these)

Demonstrative pronouns can be used as modifiers of nouns and other pronouns:

- (12) *ha mulga kay mhəŋ-to?*  
 this boy-MSG what say-IMP-F-MSG  
 ‘What does this boy say?’
- (13) *ha mi a-l-o* OR *ha a-l-o*  
 this I-MSG COME-PERF-1MSG  
 ‘Look, I have COME.’
- i. Some archaic forms of demonstrative pronouns are used in poetry: *hyajəla* (M) / *hijəla* (F) ‘to him / her’, *hijəši* / *ijəši* ‘to her’, *iyə* ‘to this’.
- ii. In the masculine oblique form *hya-*, the initial *h* is often deleted which gives such alternants as *hyala* / *yala* ‘to him’, *hyaca* / *yaca* ‘of this’, *hyat* / *yat* ‘in this’, *hyahun* / *yahun* ‘from this’, *hyane* / *yane* ‘by this’, *hyanni* / *yanni* ‘by these’, *hyanca* / *yanca* ‘of those’ etc. (see 2.6.11.4).

- iii. The form *he-la* (M/N) ‘to this’ is sometimes heard in juvenile speech.
- iv. The plural masculine oblique form has a variant *hya-nla* ‘to these’.

### 3.2.5 Relative and correlative pronouns

In Marathi the main clause in the relative construction is marked by a correlative pronoun – a characteristic of Indo-Aryan languages. The relative and correlative pronouns agree in gender and number with their respective heads. The pronouns show oblique forms if the head nouns are present and case-marked. They are case-marked in the absence of head nouns.

#### 3rd person

Relative-correlative pair:

		Nominative	Oblique
Singular	M	<i>jo / to</i> ‘who/that’	<i>jala / tyala</i> ‘to whom / to that’
	F	<i>ji / ti</i>	<i>jila / tila</i>
	N	<i>je / te</i> ‘which/that’	<i>jala / tyala</i> ‘to which / to that’

*jo / je + a* is phonetically realized as *ja* and *to / te + a* is phonetically realized as *tya*:

		Nominative	Oblique
Plural	M	<i>je / je / te</i>	<i>jan(n)a / tyan(n)a</i>
	F	<i>jya / tyā</i>	”
	N	<i>ji / ti</i>	”

- i. The plural masculine oblique form has a variant *janla* ‘to whom’.
- ii. Archaic forms of the relative pronouns are used in poetry: *jihi* (M/F) ‘by whom’, *jajla* (M/N) ‘to whom/which’, *jiye* ‘to whom’.

- (14) *jo mā-la paise de-il tya-la jaga miḷ-el*  
 who I-DAT money give-FUT he-DAT place get-FUT  
 ‘He who gives me money will get a place.’

### 3.2.6 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are not marked for gender, number or person. The forms for animate and inanimate referents are different. They decline for case and postpositions and take oblique markers on them.

Case	<i>koŋ</i> (who) Animate	<i>kay</i> (what) Inanimate
NOM	<i>koŋ</i> (who)	<i>kay</i> (what)
ACC	<i>kuŋ a-la</i> / <i>koŋa-la</i> (whom)	<i>kəša-la</i> (what)
ERG	<i>kuŋi</i> / <i>koŋi</i> (by whom)	<i>kəšani?</i> <i>kəšane</i> (by what)
DAT	<i>kuŋa-la</i> / <i>koŋa-la</i> (to whom)	<i>kəša-la</i> (to what)
ABL	<i>kuŋa-pasun</i> / <i>koŋa-pasun</i> (from whom)	<i>kəša-pasun</i> (from what)
POSS	<i>koŋa-ca</i> / <i>kuŋa-ca</i> (whose)	<i>kəša-ca</i> (of what)
LOC	<i>kuŋa-t</i> / <i>koŋa-t</i> (in whom)	<i>kəša-t</i> (in what)

The interrogative pronoun in the possessive case – *koŋ-ca* / *koŋ-ta* ‘which one’ varies with gender and number and takes the oblique form *koŋ-ča* / *koŋ-tya* when the noun it qualifies is followed by a case marker or a postposition:

Direct form

Singular	Plural
<i>koŋ-ca mulga</i> ‘which boy’	<i>koŋ-ce mulge</i> ‘which boys’
<i>koŋ-či mulgi</i> ‘which girl’	<i>koŋ-ča muli</i> ‘which girls’
<i>koŋ-cə mul</i> ‘which child’	<i>koŋči mulə</i> ‘which children’

Oblique form (singular or plural)

*koŋ-ča* / *koŋ-tya* *mula-la* (M) / *muli-la* (F) / *mula-la* (N)  
 ‘to which boy / child / girl’

Examples:

- (15) *koŋ ahe tikdə? ənnə koŋ-a-la / kuŋ-a-la deu?*  
 who Be-PRES there food who-OBL-DAT give-IMP(1SG/PL)  
 ‘Who is there?’ ‘Whom should (I/we) give the food?’
- (16) *kay cal-lə-y? tu kəša-la məhətwə de-t-os?*  
 what happen-PERF-Be-PRES you what-PP importance give-IMPF-SG  
 ‘What is happening?’ ‘What do you give importance to?’

- a. The oblique form of *kay* is *kāsa*, which is used before all postpositions. Even in:

- (17) *tu kās-a a-l-as?*  
 you-2MSG what-INST-MSG come-PERF-2MSG  
 ‘By what means of transport / how did you come?’

The postposition is the vowel *a*. This *a* is the same as the instrumental – *ne* in meaning. This *kāsa* is different from the adverbial *kāsa* ‘how’.

*kay* becomes *kāsa* before the inseparable postposition *a*, and *s* becomes *ś* in *kāśane* ‘by what’, *kāśaca* ‘of what’, *kāśat* ‘in what’ etc. – that is when the oblique *a* is followed by a consonant. Damle ([1911]1970) says there are two possible explanations. One, *kay* does not have any oblique form and therefore *kāsa* forms are used in its place. Two, *kay* becomes *kāsa* in the oblique.

- b. The interrogative pronoun *kāsla* ‘what kind/type’ has a special use. It is often used to express negative meaning as in (18):

- (18) *to kās-l-a ye-t-o-y*  
 he-3MSG what type-MSG come-IMP-3MSG-Be-PRES  
 ‘He won’t come.’

### 3.2.7 Indefinite pronouns / quantifiers

Animate M / F / N SG		PL
NOM	<i>koṇ / koṇi / kuṇi</i> (someone/anyone)	<i>kahi</i> (some)
ACC	<i>koṇ-a-lal / kuṇ-a-la</i>	<i>kahi / kahi-n-na</i>
ERG	<i>kuṇ-a-kādun / koṇ-a-kādun</i> OR <i>koṇi / kuṇi</i>	<i>kahi-n-ni</i>
DAT	<i>koṇ-a-la / kuṇ-a-la</i>	<i>kahi-n-na</i>
ABL	<i>koṇ-a-pasun / kuṇ-a-pasun</i>	<i>kahi-n-pasun</i>
POSS	<i>koṇ-a-ca / kuṇ-a-ca</i>	<i>kahi-n-ca</i>
LOC	<i>koṇ-a-t / kuṇ-a-t</i>	<i>kahi-n-ča-t</i>
Inanimate SG and PL: <i>kahi</i>		

Note that indefinite animate quantifiers such as some/someone, are also expressed by words such as *ek*, *ekjāṇ*, *ek-koṇitāri*, *koṇi-ek* all using the numeral *ek* ‘one’. The inanimate is *kahi-ek* / *ek-kahi* / *ek-kahi-tāri*.

Examples:

- (19) *koṇi a-le hote ka*  
 anyone-3N come-PERF Be-PAST-3N Q  
 ‘Did anyone come?’



- (20) *kahi a-l-e kahi rahi-l-e*  
 some-PL come-PERF-PL some-PL remain-PERF-PL  
 ‘Some came and some didn’t.’

Gender and number are not overtly marked in indefinite pronouns. Person is third person but is not overtly marked.

Indefinite pronouns can be used as modifiers of nouns and other pronouns:

- (21) *koŋ (ek) maŋus a-la-y*  
 some-one person-MSG come-PERF-MSG-Be-PRES-SG  
 ‘Some person has come.’
- (22) *kahi goŝ-i nə bol-lel-ya caŋl-ya*  
 some thing-PL NEG say-2nd-PERF-PL better-PL  
 ‘Some things are better not said.’
- (23) *kahi te aŋi kahi he əse ghe-u-ya*  
 some that / those and some this / these in this way take-HORT  
 ‘Let’s take some of those and some of these.’

### 3.3 Adjective

#### 3.3.1 Inflecting and non-inflecting

Morphologically adjectives divide into two groups: Inflecting and Non-inflecting.

Inflecting adjectives end in *-a*. They inflect for the gender, number and case of the noun they qualify. They are marked *ya* for a noun which is marked for a case-PP or a postposition. However they themselves do not inflect for the actual case-PP or postpositions. The adjectives carry these inflections in both pre-modifier as well as predicative positions. It is interesting to note that the citation form for these adjectives is masculine singular. We provide an extensive account of derived adjectives in Chapter 4. Adjectives borrowed from other languages tend to be non-inflective.

	Nominative		Oblique	
	MSG	FSG	NSG	M/F/N
‘green’	<i>hirw-a</i>	<i>hirw-i</i>	<i>hirw-e</i>	<i>hirw-ya</i>
‘yellow’	<i>piwɫ-a</i>	<i>piwɫ-i</i>	<i>piwɫ-e</i>	<i>piwɫ-ya</i>
‘red’	<i>tam(b)ɖ-a</i>	<i>tam(b)ɖ-i</i>	<i>tam(b)ɖe</i>	<i>tam(b)ɖ-ya</i>
‘blue’	<i>niɭ-a</i>	<i>niɭ-i</i>	<i>niɭ-e</i>	<i>niɭ-ya</i>
‘big’	<i>moθh-a</i>	<i>moθh-i</i>	<i>moθh-e</i>	<i>moθh-ya</i>

	Nominative			Oblique
	MPL	FPL	NPL	M/F/N
‘green’	<i>hirw-e</i>	<i>hirw-ya</i>	<i>hirw-i</i>	<i>hirw-ya</i>
‘yellow’	<i>piwḷ-e</i>	<i>piwḷ-ya</i>	<i>piwḷ-i</i>	<i>piwḷ-ya</i>
‘red’	<i>tam(b)ḍe</i>	<i>tam(b)ḍ-ya</i>	<i>tam(b)ḍ-i</i>	<i>tam(b)ḍ-ya</i>
‘blue’	<i>niḷ-e</i>	<i>niḷ-ya</i>	<i>niḷ-i</i>	<i>niḷ-ya</i>
‘big’	<i>moṭh-e</i>	<i>moṭh-ya</i>	<i>moṭh-i</i>	<i>moṭh-ya</i>

Examples:

Nominative forms

<i>moṭha</i> (MSG)	<i>mulga</i> (MSG)	‘a big boy’
<i>moṭhi</i> (FSG)	<i>mulgi</i> (FSG)	‘a big girl’
<i>moṭhe</i> (NSG)	<i>jhad</i> (NSG)	‘a big tree’
<i>moṭhe</i> (MPL)	<i>mulge</i> (MPL)	‘big boys’
<i>moṭhya</i> (FPL)	<i>muli</i> (FPL)	‘big girls’
<i>moṭhi</i> (NPL)	<i>jhaḍe</i> (NPL)	‘big trees’

Oblique forms

<i>moṭh-ya</i> (OBL)	<i>mul</i> (M)- <i>a</i> -(OBL SG)- <i>la</i> (DAT)	‘to a big boy’
<i>moṭh-ya</i> (OBL)	<i>muli</i> (F)- <i>o</i> -(OBL SG)- <i>la</i> (DAT)	‘to a big girl’
<i>moṭh-ya</i> (OBL)	<i>jhaḍ</i> (N)- <i>a</i> -(OBL SG)- <i>wər</i> (LOC)	‘on a big tree’
<i>moṭh-ya</i> (OBL)	<i>mul</i> (M)- <i>an</i> -(OBL PL)- <i>na</i> (DAT)	‘to big boys’
<i>moṭh-ya</i> (OBL)	<i>mul</i> (F)- <i>in</i> -(OBL PL)- <i>na</i> (DAT)	‘to big girls’
<i>moṭh-ya</i> (OBL)	<i>jhaḍ</i> (N)- <i>an</i> -(OBL PL)- <i>wər</i> (DAT)	‘on big trees’

Non-inflecting adjectives end in *C*, *ə*, *i* or *u*. For example, *lal* ‘red’, *ajari* ‘ill’, *bhāgnə* ‘broken’, *kəḍu* ‘bitter’.

Examples:

NOM SG:	<i>lal diwa</i> (M) / <i>ṭopi</i> (F) / <i>rəktə</i> (N) (a red lamp/cap/red blood)
NOM PL:	<i>lal diwe</i> (M) / <i>ṭopya</i> (F) / <i>pise</i> (N) (red lamps/caps/feathers)
OBL SG:	<i>lal diwya</i> (M)- <i>t</i> (LOC) (in a red lamp) / <i>lal ṭopi</i> (F)- <i>t</i> (LOC) (in a red cap) / <i>lal rəktə</i> (N)- <i>t</i> (LOC) (in red blood)
OBL PL:	<i>lal diwyan</i> (M)- <i>ca</i> (POSS) (of red lamps) / <i>lal ṭopyan</i> (F)- <i>ca</i> (POSS) / (of red caps) / <i>lal pisan</i> (N)- <i>ca</i> (POSS) (of red feathers)

Most adjectives, though not all, normally function both as pre-modifiers<sup>8</sup> or predicative complements of nouns except those that refer to kinship relations. These are used only as pre-modifiers as in: *culət bhau* ‘father’s brother’s son’, *mame bhau* ‘mother’s brother’s son’, *mawəs bhau* ‘mother’s sister’s son’, *ate bhau* ‘father’s sister’s son’, *səkkha bhau* ‘own, closely related brother’, *sawətrə bhau* ‘stepbrother’. Note that use of these pre-modifiers in complement position is unacceptable. One

never gets, \**ram majha culat ahe* in the sense of ‘Ram is my father’s brother’. In poetry pre-modifiers may follow a noun.

Adjective as a pre-modifier and as a predicative complement:

- (24) *mi ek uncə maṇus paḥi-l-a.*  
 I a tall man-MSG see-PERF-MSG  
 ‘I saw a tall man.’
- (25) *madhəv uncə ahe*  
 Madhav tall Be-PRES  
 ‘Madhav is tall.’
- (26) *mi ek weḍ-i mulgi paḥy-l-i.*  
 I a crazy-FSG girl-FSG see-PERF-FSG  
 ‘I saw a crazy girl.’
- (27) *mina weḍi ahe*  
 Mina(F) crazy(F) Be-PRES  
 ‘Mina is crazy.’

### 3.3.2 Adjective types

Semantically adjectives may be divided into three classes:

- i. Qualifying: Adjectives that show some quality or characteristics of nouns.
- ii. Quantifying: Adjectives that show the quantity of nouns.
- iii. Determining: Adjectives that determine specificity, definiteness.

#### 3.3.2.1 Qualifying adjectives

Qualifying adjectives such as *uncə* ‘tall’, *jaḍ* ‘fat’, *gora* ‘fair-looking’, *lal* ‘red’, *goḍ* ‘sweet’, *məu* ‘soft’, *bhəḍək* ‘gaudy’, *spəṣṭə* ‘clear’ are utilized in comparative and superlative constructions. The comparative degree is expressed by optionally using *adhik* or *jaṣṭə* ‘more’ or *kəmi* ‘less’ before the adjective as shown and exemplified in (28). Words borrowed from Sanskrit take the compared item + *-tər*: *drudḥtər* ‘more firm’, *dhəwəltər* ‘more white’.

(a) Compared item + standard of comparison + PP (*-pekṣa* / *-hun*) + adj + linking verb.

- (28) *madhəv nitin-pekṣa (jaṣṭə) uncə ahe*  
 Madhav Nitin-PP more tall Be-PRES  
 ‘Madhav is taller than Nitin.’

The superlative degree is expressed by *sərwat* (*jaṣṭə*) ‘most of all’, *pəram* ‘highest’, *sərwadhik* ‘most’. The borrowings from Sanskrit employ the suffix *təm* ‘most’:

*uččātām* ‘highest’, *murkhātām* ‘most stupid’, *jeṣṭhātām* ‘senior most’, *lāghu* ‘small’ – *lāghuttār* ‘smaller’ – *lāghuttām* ‘smallest’.

- (29) *to sārwa-a-t (jastā) uncā ahe*  
 He all-OBL-PP more tall Be-PRES  
 ‘He is the tallest.’

- (30) *to pāram murkhā ahe.*  
 he very much stupid Be-PRES  
 ‘He is extremely stupid.’

### 3.3.2.2 Quantifying adjectives

Quantifying adjectives include cardinal and ordinal numbers and various quantifiers. Quantifying adjectives are used predominantly as pre-modifiers though their use as complements is not ruled out.

#### Cardinals

Cardinals form a major sub-class of quantifying adjectives:

*ek* ‘one’ has a variant *āk* in *akra* ‘eleven’.

*don* ‘two’ has the variants *be* in *be eke be* ‘two ones are two’, *be-čālīs* ‘forty-two’, *ba* in *ba-ra* ‘twelve’, *ba-wis* ‘twenty-two’, *ba-wān* ‘fifty-two’, *ba-sāṣṭā* ‘sixty-two’, *ba-hattār* ‘seventy-two’, *bā* in *bā-ttis* ‘thirty-two’, *bā-hattār* ‘seventy-two’, *bya* in *bya-yši* ‘eighty-two’, *bya-ṇṇaw* ‘ninety-two’.

*tin* ‘three’ has the variants *te* in *te-ra* ‘thirteen’, *te-wis* ‘twenty-three’, *teh-tis* ‘thirty-three’, *tre* in *tre-čālīs* ‘forty-three’, *tre-pān* ‘fifty-three’, *tre-sāṣṭā* ‘sixty-three’, *tryā* in *tryā-hattār* ‘seventy-three’, *try-ayši* ‘eighty-three’, *try-aṇṇaw* ‘ninety-three’.

*čār* ‘four’ has the variants *cāu* in *cāu-da* ‘fourteen’, *cāutīs* ‘thirty-four’, *cāu-sāṣṭā* ‘sixty-four’, *cāury-attār* ‘seventy-four’, *cāury-ayši* ‘eighty-four’, *cāury-aṇṇaw* ‘ninety-four’, *čo* in *čo-wis* ‘twenty-four’, *čo-pān* ‘fifty-four’.

*pāc* ‘five’ has the variants *pān* in *pān-dhra* ‘fifteen’, *pānc-wis* ‘twenty-five’, *pānce-čālīs* ‘forty-five’, *pānca-wān* ‘fifty-five’, *pānča-hattār* ‘seventy-five’, *pānc-ayši* ‘eighty-five’, *pānc-aṇṇaw* ‘ninety-five’, *pās* in *pās-tis* ‘thirty-five’, *pā* in *pā-sāṣṭā* ‘sixty-five’.

*sāha* ‘six’ has the variants *so* in *so-lā* ‘sixteen’, *sā* in *sā-wwis* ‘twenty-six’, *seh* in *seh-čālīs* ‘forty-six’, *śah* in *śah-attār* ‘seventy-six’, *śah-āiši* ‘eighty-six’, *śah-aṇṇaw* ‘ninety-six’, *chā* in *chā-ttis* ‘thirty-six’, *chā-ppān* ‘fifty-six’.

*sat* ‘seven’ has the variants *sāt* in *sāt-ra* ‘seventeen’, *sātta-wis* ‘twenty-six’, *sātte-čālīs* ‘forty-seven’, *sātta-wān* ‘fifty-seven’, *sātya-hattār* ‘seventy-seven’, *sāty-aṇṇaw* ‘ninety-six’, *sādā* in *sādā-tis* ‘thirty-seven’, *sādu-sāṣṭā* ‘sixty-seven’.

*aṭh* ‘eight’ has the variants *aṭh* in *aṭh-ra* ‘eighteen’, *aṭṭha-wis* ‘twenty-eight’, *aṭṭhe-čālīs* ‘forty-eight’, *aṭṭha-wān* ‘fifty-eight’, *aṭṭhya-hattār* ‘seventy-eight’, *aṭṭhy-*

*ayši* ‘eighty-eight’, *aṭṭhy-anṇaw* ‘ninety-eight’, *ad* in *adā-tis* ‘thirty-eight’, *adu-saṣṭa* ‘sixty-eight’.

*daha* ‘ten’ has the variants *ra* in *ak-ra* ‘eleven’, *ba-ra* ‘twelve’, *te-ra* ‘thirteen’, *pandh-ra* ‘fifteen’, *sat-ra* ‘seventeen’, *aṭh-ra* ‘eighteen’. *ra* becomes *la* in *so-la* ‘sixteen’ and *da* in *cāu-da* ‘fourteen’.

*wis* ‘twenty’, *tis* ‘thirty’, *čaliṣ* ‘forty’ have no variants. *pānnas* ‘fifty’ becomes *wān* in *ekka-wān* ‘fifty-one’, *ba-wān* ‘fifty-two’, *pānca-wān* ‘fifty-five’, *satta-wān* ‘fifty-seven’ etc. or *pān* in *tre-pān* ‘fifty-three’ etc. *saṭh* ‘sixty’ has a variant *saṣṭh* or *saṭ* (borrowed from Sanskrit *ṣaṣṭha* ‘six’) in *eksasṭha* / *ek-saṭ* ‘sixty-one’ etc. *sattar* ‘seventy’ has a variant *hattar* in *pānca-hattar* ‘seventy-five’ etc. with some optional phonetic changes. The same applies to *aṣi* ‘eighty’ as in *be+aṣi* > *bya+aṣi* > *byayṣi* ‘eighty-two’. *nawwād* ‘ninety’ has a variant *naw* in *ekkyā-naw* ‘ninety-one’ etc.

All the numbers above one hundred are formed by *ek še* + cardinal number, for example, *čar še wis* ‘four hundred and twenty’ (figuratively, it also means ‘a cheater’).

The numeral *šambhār* ‘one hundred’ has a colloquial alternant *šekḍa*. The other higher numbers are as follows: *hajar* ‘one thousand’, *lakh* ‘a hundred thousand’, *karoḍ* / *koṭi* ‘ten million’, *abjā* ‘a thousand million or a billion’.

All the numerals discussed so far are non-inflecting adjectives.

Among the fractional words, only *-a* ending adjectives are inflected. Quantifying words indicating a group of entities end in *e* for masculine and in *i* for feminine.

*doghe* ‘both’, *tighe* ‘the three’, *caughe* ‘the four’ denote masculine gender. The marker for feminine gender is *i* as in *doghi* ‘both’, *tighi* ‘all three’.

Gender marking is preserved in the absence of the head noun. *dogh-e a-le* ‘the two (M) came’, *dogh-i al-ya* ‘the two (F) came’, *dogh-a-n-na* (two-M-OBL-PL-DAT) *aṇ* ‘Bring both’, *dogh-i-n-na* (two-F-OBL PL-DAT) *aṇ* ‘Bring both’. Note that *ek* ‘one’ shows gender distinction when followed by case or PP markers: *eki* (F)-*la* (DAT) *aṇ* ‘Bring one-F’; *eka* (M)-*la* (DAT) *aṇ* ‘Bring one-M’.

### Ordinals

Ordinals invariably end in *a*.

*pāhila* ‘first’, *dusra* ‘second’, *tisra* ‘third’, *cāutha* ‘fourth’, *pacwa* ‘fifth’, *šambhārāwa* ‘hundredth’ etc.

The ordinals are inflected for gender and number and follow the usual rule.

Examples: *pāhil-a diwās* (MSG) ‘first day’, *pāhil-e diwās* (MPL) ‘first days’, *pāhil-i ratrā* (FSG) ‘first night’, *pāhil-ya ratri* (FPL) ‘first nights’, *pāhi-le mul* (NSG) ‘first child’, *pāhil-i mul-e* (NPL) ‘first children’, *pāhil-ya mul-a* (NSG OBL)-*la* (DAT) ‘to the first child’, *pāhil-ya mul-a* (NPL OBL)-*n* (PL)-*na* (DAT) ‘to the first children’.

Ordinals borrowed from Sanskrit are also used in some registers of Marathi. Some examples: *prāthamā wārṣā* ‘first year’, *dwadāśi* ‘the 12th day of Hindu calendar’.

### *Fractionals*

The following forms are used as fractionals: *paw* ‘quarter’, *ardha* ‘half’, *paun* ‘three fourths or a quarter before one’, *sawwa* / *sāwa* ‘one and a quarter’, *diḍ* ‘one and a half’, *pawṇe don* / *tin* etc. ‘a quarter before two/three etc.’, *aḍic* ‘two and a half’, *sade tin* / *čar* / *pac* etc. ‘three / four / five etc. and a half’. The form *aḍpaw* ‘half of a quarter’ is used only for weight and is becoming old-fashioned. All fractions except *ardha* ‘half’ are non-inflecting pre-modifying adjectives.

### *Multiplicators*

Multiplicators are formed by suffixing *-pəṭ* to the numeral: *duppəṭ* ‘twice’, *tippəṭ* ‘three times’, *caupəṭ* ‘four times’, *pacpəṭ* ‘five times’ etc.

### *Aggregatives*

Aggregatives are formed by suffixing *-hi* / *-i* to the numerals: *donāhi* / *donhi* / *doni* ‘both’, *tināhi* / *tinhi* / *tini* ‘all three’, *čarāhi* / *čarhi* / *čari* ‘all four’. The suffix *-o* is used to indicate a large number – larger than the numeral – and therefore with decimal numerals starting with one hundred: *šekḍo* ‘hundreds’, *lakho* ‘hundred thousands’, *karoḍo* ‘crores or ten millions’ etc. Aggregatives do not show any gender distinction.

### *Other quantifiers*

Other quantifiers include universal quantifiers such as *dər* / *hər* ‘every’, *sare* / *sərwə* / *səməstə* ‘all’, *əkhil* / *səmpurnə* / *əwgha* ‘all, whole’, indefinite quantifiers such as *kəik* / *khup* / *rəgəḍ* ‘many’, *kahi* ‘some’, *(kahi)thoḍe* / *jəra* / *əlpə* ‘a few, a little’, *itər* ‘other’, *ittyadi* ‘etc.’, *baki* ‘remaining’, approximatives such as *jəwəljəwəḷ* / *sumare* / *sadharəṇ* / *əndaje* ‘approximately, nearly’, measure expressions such as *šer* / *kilo* ‘kilogram’ and collectives such as *joḍa* ‘pair’, *gəṭṭha* ‘pile’ *gəḍḍa* ‘lump’ etc.

#### 3.3.2.3 *Determining adjectives*

Determining adjectives are derived from various pronouns such as proximate, distal, relative, correlative and interrogative. They all inflect for gender and number since all of them end in *a*, a mark of inflecting adjectives.

## Singular

NOM			OBL
M	F	N	
<i>əs-a</i> (like this)	<i>əš-i</i>	<i>əs-e</i>	<i>əš-a</i>
<i>təs-a</i> (like that)	<i>təš-i</i>	<i>təs-e</i>	<i>təš-a</i>
<i>jəs-a</i> (the type which)	<i>jəš-i</i>	<i>jəs-e</i>	<i>jəš-a</i>
<i>kəs-a</i> (how)	<i>kəš-i</i>	<i>kəs-e</i>	<i>kəš-a</i>
<i>itk-a</i> / <i>ewhḏh-a</i> (this much / many)	<i>itk-i</i> / <i>ewhḏh-i</i>	<i>itk-e</i> / <i>ewhḏh-e</i>	<i>itk-ya</i>
<i>titk-a</i> / <i>tewhḏh-a</i> (that much / many)	<i>titk-i</i> / <i>tewhḏh-i</i>	<i>titk-e</i> / <i>tewhḏh-e</i>	<i>titk-ya</i> / <i>tewhḏh-ya</i>
<i>jitk-a</i> / <i>jewhḏh-a</i> (as much)	<i>jitk-i</i> / <i>jewhḏh-i</i>	<i>jitk-e</i> / <i>jewhḏh-e</i>	<i>jitk-ya</i> / <i>jewhḏh-ya</i>
<i>kitk-a</i> / <i>kewhḏh-a</i> (how much)	<i>kitk-i</i> / <i>kewhḏh-i</i>	<i>kitk-e</i> / <i>kewhḏh-e</i>	<i>kitk-ya</i> / <i>kewhḏh-ya</i>
<i>kəsl-a</i> / <i>kəsc-a</i>	<i>kəsl-i</i> / <i>kəšč-i</i>	<i>kəsl-e</i> / <i>kəsl-ə</i> / <i>kəsc-e</i> / <i>kəsc-ə</i>	<i>kəsl-ya</i> / <i>kəšč-a</i>

## Examples:

- (31) *tya-ca itk-a caŋl-a ghoḏa*  
 he-POSS-MSG this much-MSG good-MSG horse-MSG  
 ‘His such a good horse.’
- (32) *kewhḏh-ya kimti-la he tu ghet-lə-s?*  
 how much-OBL price-DAT this you take-PERF-2SG  
 ‘How much did you pay for this?’
- (33) *kəsl-a maŋus ahe!*  
 what kind of(= very bad type of)-MSG man-MSG Be-PRES  
 ‘What a man he is!’

## 3.3.2.4 Order of adjectives

Adjectives are ordered as follows: (possessive pronoun / adjective) + (determining adjective) + (cardinal adjective) (ordinal adjective) + (qualifying adjective) Noun. The order between possessive and determining adjective is flexible.

- (34) *tya-c-e əs-e pəhil-e pac paḏhr-e ghoḏ-e*  
 he-POSS-PL like this-PL first-PL five white-PL horse-MPL  
 ‘His first five white horses of this type.’

## 3.4 Verb

Verb forms may be simple, compound, or phrasal entities. There is also a set of auxiliaries. Verbs inflect for tense, aspect and mood. All these features of the verb have been discussed below.

### 3.4.1 Auxiliaries and simple verbs

#### 3.4.1.1 *Auxiliaries*

There are two basic auxiliaries *ah* 'to be' (the form *ahe* 'Be + Present' is very common) and *ho* 'to become / happen'.

The former indicates present tense with supplementary forms for past and future. Both auxiliaries function as copula as well as tense markers. There is a third auxiliary *as* 'be' which is mostly used to indicate habitual aspect.

#### 3.4.1.2 *Simple verbs*

Simple verbs divide into intransitives, transitives, causatives and a special class called dative verbs. Transitives may be basic or derived from intransitives. Causatives are derived from both intransitives and transitives, the derived causatives form the basis for extended causatives.

##### *Intransitives*

Examples: *ja* 'go', *ye* 'come', *mār* 'die', *bās* 'sit', *uḍ* 'fly', *rāḍ* 'cry', *pāl* 'run', *śij* 'cook', *pāḍ* 'fall', *cal* 'walk' etc.

##### *Transitives*

Examples: *kha* 'eat', *kaḍh* 'take, draw', *pi* 'drink', *kār* 'do', *wac* 'read', *piḷ* 'squeeze, twist', *ughāḍ* 'open', *paṭhāw* 'send', *miḷ* 'get, receive', *de* 'give', *śiw* 'sew' etc.

##### *Derived transitives / causatives*

A causative derived from an intransitive becomes a transitive. This is achieved by internal vowel change or by adding the suffix *-aw*: *tuṭ* (INTR) 'break' – *toḍ* (TR, CAUS) 'break', *mār* (INTR) 'die' – *mar* (TR, CAUS) 'kill', *kheḷ* (INTR) 'play' – *kheḷaw* (TR, CAUS) 'make play'. A causative may be derived from a transitive also by adding the *-aw* suffix: *de* (tr) 'give' – *dew-aw* (CAUS) 'cause to give' (for more details see 4.3.3).

##### *Dative verbs*

Dative verbs are known as psychological predicates. They include verbs that refer to physical and to psychological notions such as feelings, likings etc. The subject of these verbs, which encodes the experiences, is in the dative. The theme, if any, is put in the nominative. The verb agrees with the theme: *awāḍ* 'like', *dis* 'see', *pāṭ* 'agree', *sāmaj* 'agree', *ruc* 'like', *bāre waṭ* 'feel better', *rag ye* 'get angry', *māḷmāḷ* 'feel sick', *bādh* 'yield', *śobh* 'become, behave', *pāc* 'digest', *umāg* 'realize', *kāl* 'come to know', *jhep* 'be able to sustain', *sapāḍ* 'find' (see 5.2.2), *śiw* 'touch'.



*Abilitative / capability verbs*

These verbs are formed by adding the suffix *-əw*: *kheḷ+əw* ‘be able to play’, *dew+əw* ‘be able to give’, *kha+wəw* ‘be able to eat’, *bəgh+əw* ‘be able to see’, *rah+əw* ‘be patient, be able to hold back’ (see 2.6.11.5, 4.3.4).

*Impersonal verbs*

Impersonal verbs mostly refer to the weather. There are a few that refer to physical conditions. They show that subject is not an obligatory constituent of a sentence. Note that these are subjectless sentences distinct from the second person imperatives in which a second person subject is understood.

The verb is third person neutral.

*ujad-le* ‘It is morning/ It has become light.’

*sanjaw-le* ‘It is evening/ Evening has come.’

*phəṭphəṭ-le* ‘Early morning has come.’

*dḥagal-le* ‘It has become cloudy.’

*əndhar-le* ‘It is dark now.’

**3.4.2** Compound verbs<sup>9</sup>

The first syntactic account of Marathi compound verbs of any consequence is presented in Damle ([1911]1970). According to him a compound verb is composed of a sequence of two verbs V1+V2. The primary verb V1 is non-finite, while V2 is categorized as *səhayyā dhatu* i.e. an auxiliary or helping verb. Auxiliaries are further classified as *əṛthəhin* (devoid of meaning) and *əṛthəwan* (replete with meaning). He classifies *əṛthəhin* into three groups, namely, (i) the affirmative auxiliaries: *ahe* ‘Be’, *ho* ‘become’; (ii) the corresponding negatives *nə*, *nahi*, and (iii) passive voice markers *ja* ‘go’, *ye* ‘come’. He divides *əṛthəwan* auxiliaries into eight groups (i) Habituals, (ii) Iteratives, (iii) Potentials, (iv) Obligatives, (v) Desideratives, (vi) Permissives, (vii) Inceptives, and (viii) Intensives / extremes. The first group (*əṛthəhin*) clearly represents the standard auxiliaries carrying tense, aspect, and mood. The group does not come under the strict definitions of a compound verb. It represents what we may call the loose end of the compound predicate series. It is the second group (*əṛthəwan*) that deserves to be called compound verbs. A hallmark of most of these verbs is that the semantic nuances encoded in them are completely at odds with their literal meanings. This is specially so with the predicates of the eighth sub-group that express an intensive / excessive nuance of the action. Here we regroup and reformulate Damle’s eight groups into three classes: (i) Quasi-Aspectuals (A): habituals, iteratives, inceptives, terminatives,

(ii) Quasi-Aspectuals (B): intensives and excessives, and (iii) Quasi-Modals (C): potentials, obligatives, desideratives, and permissives (see Dhongde 1984). Note that quasi-aspectuals and quasi-modals are on the borderline between full/true aspect and modal forms as noted in Hakutani and Hargis (1972).<sup>10</sup>

### 3.4.2.1 Quasi-Aspectuals (A)

Quasi-Aspectuals express meanings such as completion, termination, continuation, and duration. The participles that mark V1 encode lexical meaning. The literal meanings of V2 are at odds with their roles as auxiliaries. The group consists of:

- i. Iteratives / Continuatives: *bās* 'sit', *pāḍ* 'fall', *rah* 'stay, live'.
- ii. Inceptives: *ghal* 'put on, insert', *lag* 'come to touch', *sut* 'get loose, leave', *ye* 'come'.
- iii. Terminatives: *aṇ* 'bring', *ye* 'come'.
- iv. Duratives: *ho* 'become'.

#### Iteratives

Iteratives are marked in V1 with the present participle in *-t* and the completive in *-un*. Inceptives are marked by *-u* and by completive *-un*. Terminatives also are marked by completive *-un*. Damle adds the habitual aspect marker *ās* to this group, which we have classified here as a regular aspect marker.

*bās* 'sit'

- (35) *to rāḍ-āt bās-l-a*  
 he-MSG cry-IMPV V2-PERF-3MSG  
 'He kept on crying.' (ludicrous)

*pāḍ* 'fall'

- (36) *dor kuj-āt pāḍ-l-a*  
 rope-MSG rot-IMPV V2-PERF-3MSG  
 'The rope was left rotting.' (pejorative)

*rah* 'live, stay'

- (37) *to rāḍ-āt rhay-l-a / rahi-l-a*  
 he-MSG cry-IMPV V2-PERF-3MSG  
 'He kept on crying.'

- (38) *to bās-un rahi-l-a*  
 he-MSG sit-COMPL V2-PERF-3MSG  
 'He kept on sitting.'

*Inceptives**ghal* ‘insert, put on’

- (39) *mrūnal-ne abhikhya-la nha-u ghat-l-e*  
 Mrunal-ERG Abhikhya-DAT take a bath-INCP V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Mrunal gave a bath to Abhikhya.’

*lag* ‘come to touch’

- (40) *to rəḍ-u / rəḍ-ayla lag-l-a*  
 he-MSG cry-INCP / cry-DESI V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He began to cry / He began crying.’

*suṭ* ‘get loose, leave’

- (41) *to hās-ət suṭ-l-a*  
 he-MSG laugh-IMPF V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He burst out and kept on laughing.’ (pejorative)

*ye* ‘come’

- (42) *to rəḍ-ayla a-l-a*  
 he-MSG weep-DESI V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He was on the point of weeping.’

- (43) *jəkhəm bhər-ət a-l-i*  
 wound-FSG heal-IMPF V2-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘The wound came close to healing.’

- (44) *tya-la rəḍ- u / rəḍ-ayla ye-t-ə*  
 he-DAT weep-INCP / weep-DESI V2-IMPF-3NSG  
 ‘He starts crying.’

*Terminatives / completives**aṇ* ‘bring’

- (45) *tya-nə kam səmpw-un ṭak-l-ə*  
 he-ERG work-3NSG finish-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He brought the work to a finish.’

*ja* ‘go’

- (46) *jəkhəm bhər-un ge-l-i*  
 wound-FSG heal-COMPL V2-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘The wound went on healing.’

*ye* ‘come’

- (47) *tya-la kəḷ-un a-l-ə*  
 he-DAT realize-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He came to realize.’

*Durative**ho* ‘become, happen’

- (48) *cal-t-a ho*  
 get out-IMP-MSG V2-IMP  
 ‘(You) get out!’

- (49) *tya-la pəstaw-ayla jha-l-ə*  
 he-DAT repent-DESI V2-PERF-NSG  
 ‘It so happened that he repented.’

- (50) *bhintə pəḍ-ayla jha-l-i*  
 wall-FSG fall-DESI V2-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘The wall came to the point when it must fall.’

**3.4.2.2 Quasi-Aspectuals (B)**

Quasi-Aspectuals (B) also called explicators in some recent grammars (see Padharipande 1997) encode the intensity of an action, its extremity / uttermost degree, suddenness, or benefaction. As noted above they are grouped as *prākərṣā dərṣāk*, *pārakaṣṭha dərṣāk* in Damle. We believe that they are quasi-aspectuals expressing attitudes. All these mark V1 by the completive marker *-un*.

Explicator with examples:

*ah* ‘be’

- (51) *ti tyā-la oḷkh-un ahe*  
 she he-DAT know-COMPL V2-Be-PRES  
 ‘She knows him well (= she is very much aware of the havocs he may play).’

*cal* ‘walk’

- (52) *te yet-il əsə to dhər-un cal-l-a*  
 they come-FUT that he-3MSG assume-COMPL V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He went on assuming that they would come.’

*de* ‘give’

- (53) *ḍəkṭər-ne bayko-la dəri-t loṭ-un di-l-e*  
 doctor-ERG wife-DAT valley-LOC push-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘The doctor pushed over his wife into the valley (=The doctor was merciless. He didn’t care for the havoc he may cause. The expression does not mean ‘accidentally he pushed his wife’).’

*dhər* ‘hold’

- (54) *to həsə awr-un dhər-t-o*  
 he-MSG laughter-NSG hold-COMPL V2-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He holds back his laughter (= he holds back his laughter intentionally / with force, that is, somehow he manages not to laugh).’

*ghe* ‘take’

- (55) *to loḷ-un ghe-t-o*  
 he-MSG loll around-COMPL V2-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He manages to loll around.’

*ho* ‘become’

- (56) *tya-c-ə pətrə lih-un jha-l-ə*  
 he-POSS-NSG letter-3NSG write-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He finished writing the letter.’

*kaḍh* ‘draw, take out’

- (57) *nəwr-ya-nə ti-la phoḍ-un kaḍh-l-ə / kaḍh-l-i*  
 husband-OBL-ERG she-DAT beat-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG / V2-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Her husband beat her up.’

*law* ‘direct, send’

- (58) *tya-nə maḷhi(F) winənti phetaḷ-un law-l-i*  
 he-ERG my request-FSG turn down-COMPL V2-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘He turned down my request.’

*pəḍ* ‘fall’

- (59) *kam əḍ-un pəḍ-l-ə*  
 work-NSG block-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Work ended up being blocked.’

*soḍ* ‘let loose, leave’

- (60) *tya-ne mə-la bhəṇḍaw-un soḍ-l-e*  
 he-ERG I-DAT harass-COMPL V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He harassed me like anything.’

*ṭak* ‘get rid of’

- (61) *tya-la te de-un ṭak na!*  
 he-DAT that give-COMPL V2-IMP Q TAG  
 ‘Finish it by giving it to him, won’t you?’

*cuk / bəs* ‘mistake / sit’

- (62) *ti murkhə-pəṇe əsə bol-un cuk-l-i / bəs-l-i*  
 she-FSG stupidly this speak-COMPL V2-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘She had stupidly uttered those words (there was no way to revoke them).’

### 3.4.2.3 Quasi-modals

In the quasi-modals V1 retains its lexical meaning but V2 is modified into a modal meaning. We call this complex Quasi-modals because they are not fully-fledged modal verbs as those in English. The choice of V2 restricts the choice of

V1 though the number of V1's is relatively quite large. V1 + V2 is the unmarked order but it could be changed into V2 + V1 at times as in (62a).

- (63) *mə-la he cal-ṇar nahi*  
 I-DAT this V2-PROSP NEG  
 'This will not do for me'  
 a. *nahi cal-ṇar mə-la* (variation)

Modal verbs divide into five categories: (i) Obligatives, (ii) Abilitatives, (iii) Inadvertatives, (iv) Permissives and (v) Desideratives.

### *Obligatives*

Obligatives consist of five predicates: *ah* 'be', *pəḍ* 'fall', *ye* 'come', *cal* 'walk', *lag* 'touch / happen / begin'. Note that their literal meaning differs from that of their auxiliary role. All these mark V1 with the infinitive *ṇe* / *ṇə* or predictive *ayla* except *lag*, which takes the desiderative *aw*. *lag* has multiple literal meanings.

*ah* 'be'

- (64) *tya-la jaga bhadya-nə de-ṇə ahe*  
 he-DAT residential place rent-PP give-INF V2-PRES  
 'He has a place to rent.'  
 (65) *tu-la he cal-ṇar ahe ka?*  
 you-DAT this be acceptable-PROSP Be-PRES Q  
 'Would it do for you?'  
 (66) *tya-nə ja-ycə ahe / to ja-ycə ahe*  
 he-ERG go-PRED V2-PRES/ he go-PRED V2-PRES  
 'He has to / is to / wants to go.'

*pəḍ* 'fall'

- (67) *tya-la mumbəi-la ja-yla pəḍ-tə*  
 he-DAT Mumbai-PP go-DESI V2-IMPF  
 'He has to go to Mumbai (It falls to him).'

*ye* 'come'

- (68) *tya-la jaṇə a-l-ə*  
 he-DAT go-INF V2-PERF-3NSG  
 'He was called upon to go.'

*lag* ‘come to touch’

- (69) *ty-la roj mumbəi-la ja-yla / ja-wə lag-t-ə*  
 he-DAT everyday Mumbai-PP go-DESI / go-DESI V2-IMPf-3NSG  
 ‘He has to go to Mumbai everyday.’

- (70) *to ja-wa lag-t-o / tya-nə ja-wə lag-t-ə*  
 he go-DESI V2-IMPf-3MSG / he-ERG go-DESI V2-IMPf-3NSG  
 ‘He is required to go.’

*cal* ‘walk, move’

- (71) *əsə bəs-un cal-ɳar nahi*  
 like this sit-COMPL V2-PROSP NEG  
 ‘It wouldn’t do sitting (idly) like this.’

### Abilitatives

The verb *šək* ‘can / be able’ alone encodes ability. It marks V1 with the inceptive *-u*, while *ye* marks it with the imperfective *-ta* and *ho* with the desiderative marker *-ayla*.

*ho* ‘become, happen’

- (72) *tya-la ja-yla jha-l-ə*  
 he-DAT go-DESI V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He could manage to go.’

*šək* ‘can, be able’

- (73) *tu bol-u šək-t-os*  
 you speak-INCP V2-IMPf-2MSG  
 ‘You can speak.’

*ye* ‘come’

- (74) *tya-la ga-ta / ga-yla ye-t-ə*  
 he-DAT sing-IMPf / sing-DESI V2-IMPf-3NSG  
 ‘He can sing OR he knows how to sing.’

### Inadvertatives

The inadvertative quasi-modal V2 *ja* ‘go’ marks V1 with the completive *-un*.

- (75) *to nə-kəl-ət bol-un ge-l-a*  
 he-MSG NEG-understand-IMPf(NON-FIN) speak-COMPL V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He ended up speaking / saying inadvertently.’

### Permissives

The permissive *de* ‘give’ marks V1 with the inceptive marker *-u*.

*de* ‘give’

- (76) *to / tya-la bol-u de*  
 he / he-DAT speak-INCP V2-IMP  
 ‘Let him speak.’

### Desideratives

Desideratives are expressed by six verbs: *čah* ‘wish’, *iččhə* ‘desire’, *pah* ‘see’, *mag* ‘ask for’, *jəm / bən* ‘will do’, and *dhaj* ‘dare’. Most desideratives mark V1 with the inceptive marker *-u*, which is also used to mark imperatives in general. Two of the verbs – *mag* and *jəm* – optionally mark V1 with the desiderative marker *-ayla*. Note that the semantic nuance of *čah* and *iččhə* is already encoded in their literal meaning.

*čah* ‘wish’

- (77) *mi bol-u čah-t-o*  
 I-MSG speak-INCP V2-IMPF-1MSG  
 ‘I wish to speak.’

*dhaj* ‘dare’

- (78) *to bol-u / bol-ayla dhaj-l-a*  
 he-MSG speak-INCP / speak-DESI V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He dared to speak.’

*iččhə* ‘wish’

- (79) *to kheḷ-u ičči-t-o*  
 he-MSG play-INCP V2-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He wishes to play.’

*jəm / bən* ‘be manageable’

*bən* is informal; *jəm* is more formal

- (80) *tya-la ja-yla jəm-l-ə*  
 he-DAT go-DESI V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He could / managed to go.’

- (81) *tya-la ja-yla bən-l-ə*  
 he-DAT go-DESI V2-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘He could go.’



*mag* ‘ask for’

- (82) *to ja-yla mag-t-o*  
 he-MSG go-DESI V2-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He wants to go.’

*pah* ‘see’

- (83) *to kheḷ-u pah-t-o*  
 he-MSG play-INCP V2-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He wishes to play.’

In addition there are two special modal verbs in Marathi: *pahije ah / əs* and *həwə ah / əs* with the meaning ‘want, require’. They are dative verbs as they always take a dative marked subject and an unmarked theme. *həwə* agrees in gender and number with the unmarked noun. The copula *Be* is often deleted:

- (84) *ti-la ja-yla pahije / həwə (ahe)*  
 she-DAT go-DESI want Be-PRES  
 ‘She wants to go’ or ‘She is required to go.’
- (85) *ti-la čaha pahije / həwa (ahe)*  
 she-DAT tea-MSG want / want-MSG (Be-PRES)  
 ‘She wants tea.’

One way of negating *pahije* and *həwə* is by using *nəko*:

- (86) *ti-la ja-yla nəko (ahe)*  
 she-DAT go-DESI NEG (Be-PRES)  
 ‘She doesn’t want to go’ or ‘She is not required to go.’

Another way of negating this modal is by adding the imperfective marker *-ta* to V1 and then using *kama nəye*:

- (87) *to / tya-ne ja-ta kama nəye*  
 he / he-ERG go-IMPF NEG  
 ‘He should not go.’

Note that the lexical item *kama* is used exclusively as the negative counterpart of *pahije* which is devoid of any lexical connotation – it looks like an archaic desiderative form of the verb *pah* ‘see’; note parallels such as *kəri-je / ki-je* ‘should do’, *di-je* ‘should give’ etc. It definitely qualifies as a compound verb.

### 3.4.3 Phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs, also known as conjunct verbs form a limited set which combine with nouns, adjectives or adverbs generating various semantic nuances. The verb denotes a general concept of action, state or process. The nouns, adjectives, and adverbs encode the semantic content of the complex. The noun + verb combination forms the largest group.

In the following examples we first give the literal translation and then the meaning:

Noun+Verb: *tras sos* 'trouble bear = bear trouble', *achamba waṭ* 'surprise feel = be surprised', *bobḍi wəḷ* 'stuttering turn = get frightened', *prem bās* 'love sit = fall in love', *kac kha* 'fearful yielding eat = draw back in fear', *rag dhər* 'anger hold = be angry', *tras de* 'trouble give = trouble', *waya ja* 'waste go = waste', *thap mar* 'lie beat = tell a lie', *ala ghal* 'constraint put = put a check', *bhəṇi lag* 'in religious singing come to touch = be tempted or attracted, losing one's reason', *wed lag* 'madness come to touch = be mad', *wisawa ghe* 'rest take = take rest', *wəḷəṇ law* 'turn direct = train', *khod mod* 'defect break = teach a lesson', *paṇ pheed* 'necessities loosen = fulfill necessities', *rag caḍh* 'anger climb = get more angry', *śāurya gajəw* 'valour promote = show valour', *uṇe kaḍh* 'fault find = find fault', *pay kaḍh* 'foot take away = get out', *cor nigh* 'thief turn out = turn out a rogue'.

Noun+PP+Verb: *lad-at ye* 'fondling-PP come = cuddle up', *prem-at pəḍ* 'love-PP fall = fall in love', *siddhi-s ne* 'completion-PP carry = accomplish', *ḍokyat ghe* 'head-PP take = take up an idea', *ur-a-wər bās* 'chest-OBL-PP sit = dominate and order'.

Adj+Verb: *gəppə bās* 'quiet sit = keep quiet', *bərə waṭ* 'better feel = feel better', *ajari pəḍ* 'ill fall = fall ill', *ubha rah* 'upright live = stand up', *pəsəntə pəḍ* 'approved fall = be to one's taste', *caṭ pəḍ / ho* 'tricky, amazing fall / become = be surprised'.

Adv+Verb: *waya ja* 'waste go = waste', *par pəḍ* 'completely fall = be completely successful'.

A property of phrasal verbs is that they act as a verbal unit. They can be classified as intransitives, transitives, or causatives as noted in 3.4.1.2. A phrasal noun is not marked for case but it can inflect for a postposition: *ughadki-s ye* 'light-PP come / come to = come to light'.

Syntactically the phrasal verb follows the standard agreement pattern. The phrasal noun does not bear any grammatical relation to the verb, which does not assign a theta role to it. It is treated as an unmarked object. The verb agrees with

it in the perfective aspect as in (88). In the ADJ+V construction the inflecting adjective agrees with the head noun.

- (88) *tya-ne maḥha-wər rag dhər-l-a*  
 he-ERG I-POSS-PP PHR V: anger-MSG hold-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He had a grudge against me.’

Compare the regular verb in (89) with the phrasal verb in (90).

- (89) *raḥu-ne sima-la amba di-l-a*  
 Raju-ERG Seema-DAT mango-MSG give-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Raju gave a mango to Seema.’
- (90) *raḥu-ne sima-la aṣirwad di-l-a*  
 Raju-ERG Seema-DAT PHR V: blessing-MSG give-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Raju blessed Seema.’
- (91) *raḥu-ne sima-wər prem ke-l-a.*  
 Raju-ERG Seema-PP PHR V: love-3NSG do-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Raju loved Seema.’

In (89) *amba* can be questioned:

- (92) *raḥu-ne sima-la kay di-l-e*  
 Raju-ERG Seema-DAT what give-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘What did Raju give to Seema?’

But questioning *aṣirwad* in (90) and *prem* in (91) is odd:

- (93) ? *raḥu-ne sima-la kay di-l-e*  
 Raju-ERG Seema-PP what give-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘What did Raju give to Seema?’
- (94) ? *raḥu-ne sima-wər kay ke-l-e*  
 Raju-ERG Seema-PP what do-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘What did Raju do Seema?’

In short the phrasal noun can not be questioned. It is not a direct object and has no theta role as such.

### 3.4.4 Tense and aspect<sup>11</sup>

The notion of tense is different from the notion of aspect. Conceptually tense expresses time relations between events while aspect expresses event-internal time. In Marathi aspect resides in what are fundamentally tense expressions and

at times the boundaries between tense and aspect are blurred. For example, the simple present in Marathi actually expresses a habitual event, or an eternal truth. It encodes the present progressive only with the help of an auxiliary. When the verb is marked for imperfective, perfective, predictive and prospective aspect, and no auxiliary follows, one can say that present tense is realized as  $\emptyset$  (zero). We will show the  $\emptyset$  present in the examples only when necessary. Similarly, when the main verb is in the predictive or second perfective aspect, the aux indicating Past tense is realized as  $\emptyset$ . In the following examples we do not show the  $\emptyset$  marker and therefore the tense unless it is necessary in clarifying a point.

In Marathi the verb stem often undergoes morphophonemic changes before it is inflected for tense, aspect and mood. Such verbs are listed along with their stems in the respective sections. The verb stem is inflected first for gender, number and person (GNP) and then sometimes again for gender and number (GN) or number and person (NP). For example, in *tu kha-t-o-s* (You eat) the verb stem is *kha-* (eat), *-t* is the imperfective aspect marker, *-o* is the inflectional marker for masculine singular, and *-s* marks 2nd person singular. The verb paradigms below give the full inflected forms and the glosses identify the inflectional suffixes.

### 3.4.4.1 Tense

#### Present

#### Forms of Aux

Stem *ah* 'be'

	Present	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ahe</i> / <i>y</i> / $\emptyset$	<i>aho</i> / <i>ahot</i> / <i>y(t)</i> / $\emptyset$
2	<i>ahe</i> / <i>ahes</i> / <i>ys</i> / $\emptyset$	<i>aha</i> / <i>ahat</i> / <i>y(t)</i> / $\emptyset$
3	<i>ahe</i> / <i>y</i> / $\emptyset$	<i>ahet</i> / <i>yt</i> / $\emptyset$

Note that *ah* is inflected only for number and person. It is optionally deleted when it follows imperfective, perfective, predictive, or prospective markers.

In the imperfective, when *ah* follows, the main verb normally takes the imperfective marker *t* without inflections:

- (95) *to kha-t ahe*  
 he eat-IMPF Be+PRES  
 'He is eating.'

but

- (96) *to kha-t-o ahe*  
 he eat-IMPF-GNP Be-PRES  
 ‘He is eating.’

is not ruled out.

When *ah* is not used, the imperfective is obligatorily marked for gender, number and person. One can say that in that sense the main verb encodes the AUX features. In other aspects *ah* is optionally deleted: *khalle ahe / khalle* (perfective), *khayca ahe / khayca* (predictive), *khaṇar ahe / khaṇar* (prospective). In the following examples therefore when AUX is deleted we have labelled the main verb with aspect and not with tense.

#### Past forms of the Aux *ah*

	Singular	Plural
1 MF		<i>hoto</i>
M	<i>hoto</i>	
F	<i>hote / hoti</i>	
2 MF		<i>hota / hotat</i>
M	<i>hota / hotas</i>	<i>hota / hotat / hote / hotet</i>
F	<i>hoti / hotis</i>	<i>hotya / hotyat</i>
3 M	<i>hota</i>	<i>hote</i>
F	<i>hoti</i>	<i>hotya</i>
N	<i>hote / hotə</i>	<i>hoti</i>

#### Negative forms of the Aux *ah*

	Singular	Plural
		Present
1	<i>nahi</i>	<i>nahi / nahit</i>
2	<i>nahi / nahis</i>	<i>nahi / nahit</i>
3	<i>nahi</i>	<i>nahi / nahit</i>
		Past
1 MF		<i>nəwhto</i>
M	<i>nəwhto</i>	
F	<i>nəwhte / nəwhti</i>	
2 MF		<i>nəwhta / nəwhtat</i>
M	<i>nəwhta / nəwhtas</i>	<i>nəwhta / nəwhtat / nəwhte / nəwhtet</i>
F	<i>nəwhti / nəwhtis</i>	<i>nəwhtya / nəwhtyat</i>
3 M	<i>nəwhta</i>	<i>nəwhte</i>
F	<i>nəwhti</i>	<i>nəwhtya</i>
N	<i>nəwhte / nəwhtə</i>	<i>nəwhti</i>

### Forms of *main verbs*

The forms of *ah* 'be' as a main verb are the same.

In the following paradigms we exemplify with a transitive verb, preferably, *kha* (eat), and an intransitive verb, preferably, *ja* (go).

#### *Imperfective + present*

The imperfective aspect is marked by *-t*.

In the present tense the AUX *ah* 'Be' is optionally realized as Ø. In the absence of the auxiliary the verb agrees with the subject, which is in nominative / direct case as in:

- (95) *to kha-t ahe / to kha-t-o*  
 he eat-IMPF Be-PRES / he eat-IMPF-3MSG  
 'He is eating.'

In the Past tense it may not be deleted. For example *to kheḷat hota* 'He was playing' may not reduce to *to kheḷat*.

#### *kha* 'eat'

	Singular	Plural
I MF		( <i>amhi</i> ) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-o</i> we eat-IMPF eat-IMPF-MFPL <i>ah-o(t)</i> , Be-PRES-PL OR ( <i>amhi</i> ) <i>kha-t-o</i> we eat-IMPF-1MFPL
M	( <i>mi</i> ) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-o</i> <i>ahe</i> I eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-1MSG Be-PRES 'I am eating.' OR ( <i>mi</i> ) <i>kha-t-o</i> I eat-IMPF-1MSG 'I am eating' / 'I eat.'	
F	( <i>mi</i> ) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-e</i> <i>ahe</i> I eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-1FSG Be-PRES 'I am eating.' OR ( <i>mi</i> ) <i>kha-t-e</i> I eat-IMPF-1FSG 'I am eating' / 'I eat.'	

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2 MF	<p>(<i>tumhi</i>) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-a</i>  you eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-2MFPL  <i>ah-a(t)</i>  Be-PRES-PL  ‘You are eating.’  OR  (<i>tumhi</i>) <i>kha-t-a</i>  you eat-IMPF-2MFPL  ‘You are eating’ / ‘You eat.’</p>
M	<p>(<i>tu</i>) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-o</i> <i>ahē(s)</i>  you eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-1MSG Be-PRES-2SG  ‘You are eating.’  OR  (<i>tu</i>) <i>kha-t-o-(s)</i>  you eat-IMPF-2MSG-2SG  ‘You are eating’ / ‘You eat.’</p>
F	<p>(<i>tu</i>) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-e</i> <i>ahē(s)</i>  you eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-FSG Be-PRES-2SG  ‘You are eating.’  OR  <i>kha-t-e (s)</i>  eat-IMPF-FSG(2SG)  ‘You are eating’ / ‘You eat.’</p>

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3 MFN	<p>(<i>te / tya / ti</i>) <i>kha-t</i> <i>ahē-t</i>  they eat-IMPF Be-PRES-NP  ‘They are eating.’  (<i>te / tya / ti</i>) <i>kha-t-a-t</i>  they eat-IMPF-2MFNPL-2PL  ‘They are eating.’  OR  (<i>te/tya/ti</i>) <i>kha-t-a-t</i>  they eat-IMPF-2MFNPL-2PL  ‘They are eating’ / ‘They eat.’</p>
M	<p>(<i>to</i>) <i>kha-t</i> / <i>kha-t-o</i> <i>ahē</i>  he eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-3MSG Be-PRES  ‘He is eating.’  OR  (<i>to</i>) <i>kha-t-o</i>  he eat-IMPF-3MSG  ‘He is eating’ / ‘He eats.’</p>

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F	(ti) kha-t / kha-t-e	ahe
	she eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-3FSG	Be-PRES
	'She is eating.'	
	OR	
	(ti) kha-t-e	
	she eat-IMPF-3FSG	
	'She is eating' / 'She eats.'	
N	(te) kha-t / kha-t-e	ahe
	it eat-IMPF / eat-IMPF-3NSG	Be-PRES
	'It is eating.'	
	OR	
	(te) kha-t-e / kha-t-ə	
	It eat-IMPF-3NSG / eat-IMPF-3NSG	
	'It is eating' / 'It eats.'	

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Note that the *e* ending forms of the main verb (*khate*) have an alternant ending in *i* (*khati*) which is used in colloquial speech. For paradigms of GNP, NP and GN markers and rules for assigning them to the main verb see Dhongde (1984). For reduced forms of *ahe* see 2.6.12.3.

Forms of the intransitive *ja* (go): *ja* agrees with the nominative subject and takes the same markers as the transitive verb *kha*.

*ja* 'go'

---

1 MF		(amhi) jat / jato ahot, jato
M	(mi) jat / jato ahe, jato	
F	(mi) jat / jate ahe, jate	
2 MF	M (tu) jat / jato ahes, jatos	(tumhi) jat / jata ahat, jata
F	(tu) jat / jate ahes, jates	
3 MFN		(te) jat ahet, jatat
M	(to) jat / jato ahe, jato	
F	(ti) jat / jate ahe, jate	
N	(te) jat / jate ahe, jate / jatə	

---

### Perfective + present

The perfective aspect is marked by *-l*.

The Aux *ah* is optionally realized as  $\emptyset$  in the present tense as in the imperfective. The verb agrees with the subject if it is an intransitive verb and with the object in the nominative case as already noted (see also Chapter 5 for details), if it is a transitive verb. Some grammarians treat the imperfective *-t* as present tense and the perfective *-l* as past tense. But *mi amba khalla* and *mi amba khalla ahe* are optional variants and both can mean 'I have eaten a mango'. *-l* indicates that



the action or event is anterior to the deemed present (ANT-P), just as *-t* indicates that the action or event is simultaneous with the deemed present (SIMUL-P). (See Dhongde 1984.) The deemed present and the time of encoding are normally simultaneous but they need not be so.

*kha*(eat): Nominative object agreement:

	Singular	Plural
M	( <i>sonu-ne</i> ) <i>amba</i> <i>kha-ll-a</i> / (Sonu-ERG) mango-MSG eat-PERF-3MSG / <i>kha-ll-a</i> <i>ahe</i> eat-PERF-3MSG Be-PRES 'Sonu ate a mango' / 'Sonu has eaten a mango'	( <i>Sonu-ne</i> ) <i>amb-e</i> <i>kha-ll-e</i> / (Sonu-ERG) mango-MPL eat-PERF-3MPL / <i>kha-ll-e</i> <i>ahe-t</i> eat-PERF-3MPL Be-PRES-3PL 'Sonu ate mangoes' / 'Sonu has eaten mangoes'
F	( <i>sonu-ne</i> ) <i>kakḍi</i> <i>kha-ll-i</i> / Sonu-ERG cucumber-FSG eat-PERF-3FSG / <i>kha-ll-i</i> <i>ahe</i> eat-PERF-3FSG Be-PRES 'Sonu ate a cucumber' / 'Sonu has eaten a cucumber'	( <i>sonu-ne</i> ) <i>kakḍ-ya</i> <i>kha-ll-ya</i> / Sonu-ERG cucumber-3FPL eat-PERF-3FPL / <i>kha-ll-ya</i> <i>ahe-t</i> eat-PERF-3FPL Be-PRES-3PL 'Sonu ate cucumbers' / 'Sonu has eaten cucumbers'
N	( <i>pakhāra-n-ni</i> ) <i>phəl</i> <i>kha-ll-ə/e</i> / bird-OBL PL-ERG fruit-NSG eat-PERF-3NSG / <i>kha-ll-ə/e</i> <i>ahe</i> eat-PERF-3NSG Be-PRES 'Birds ate a fruit' / 'Birds have eaten a fruit'	( <i>pakhāra-n-ni</i> ) <i>phəl-ə/e</i> <i>kha-ll-i</i> / bird-OBL PL-ERG fruit-NPL eat PERF-3NPL / <i>kha-ll-i</i> <i>ahe-t</i> eat-PERF-3NPL Be-PRES-3PL 'Birds ate fruits' / 'Birds have eaten fruits'

*ja* 'go':

	Singular	Plural
1 MF		( <i>amhi</i> ) <i>ge-l-o</i> / <i>ge-l-o</i> we go-PERF-1MPL / go-PERF-1MPL <i>ah-o(t)</i> Be-PRES-1MPL(1PL) 'We went' / 'We have gone'
M	( <i>mi</i> ) <i>ge-l-o</i> / <i>ge-l-o</i> I go-PERF-1MSG / go-PERF-1MSG <i>ahe</i> Be-PRES 'I went' / 'I have gone'	
F	( <i>mi</i> ) <i>ge-l-e</i> / <i>ge-l-e</i> I go-PERF-1FSG / go-PERF-1FSG <i>ahe</i> Be-PRES 'I went' / 'I have gone'	

2 M	( <i>tu</i> ) <i>ge-l-a</i> / <i>ge-l-a</i> you go-PERF-2MSG / go-PERF-2MSG <i>ahe(s)</i> Be-PRES(2SG) OR <i>ge-l-a-s</i> go-PERF-2MSG-2SG 'You went' / 'You have gone'	( <i>tumhi</i> ) <i>ge-l-a</i> / <i>ge-l-a/e</i> you go-PERF-2MPL / go-PERF-2MPL <i>ah-a(t)</i> Be-PRES(2PL) OR <i>ge-l-a-t</i> go-PERF-2MPL-2PL 'You went' / 'You have gone'
	F ( <i>tu</i> ) <i>geli</i> / <i>ge-l-i</i> you go-PERF-2FSG / go-PERF-2FSG <i>ahe(s)</i> Be-PRES(2SG) OR <i>ge-l-i-s</i> go-PERF-2FSG-2SG 'You went' / 'You have gone'	( <i>tumhi</i> ) <i>ge-l-a</i> / <i>ge-l-a / ya</i> you go-PERF-2FPL / go-PERF-2FPL <i>ah-a(t)</i> Be-PRES(2PL) OR <i>ge-l-a / ya-t</i> go-PERF-2FPL-2PL 'You went' / 'You have gone'
3 M	( <i>to</i> ) <i>ge-l-a</i> / <i>ge-l-a</i> he go-PERF-3MSG / go-PERF-3MSG <i>ahe</i> Be-PRES 'He went' / 'He has gone'	( <i>te</i> ) <i>ge-l-e</i> / <i>ge-l-e</i> they go-PERF-3MPL / go-PERF-3MPL <i>ahe-t</i> Be-PRES-2PL OR <i>ge-l-e-t</i> go-PERF-3MPL-3PL 'They went' / 'They have gone'
	F ( <i>ti</i> ) <i>ge-l-i</i> / <i>ge-l-i</i> she go-PERF-3FSG / go-PERF-3FSG <i>ahe</i> Be-PRES 'She went' / 'She has gone'	( <i>tya</i> ) <i>ge-l-ya</i> / <i>ge-l-ya ahe-t</i> they go-PERF-3FPL Be-PRES-3PL OR <i>ge-l-ya-t</i> go-PERF-3FPL-3PL 'They went' / 'They have gone'
N	( <i>te</i> ) <i>ge-l-e/a</i> / <i>ge-l-e/a ahe</i> it go-PERF-3NSG / go-PERF-3NSG 'It went' / 'It has gone'	( <i>ti</i> ) <i>ge-l-i</i> / <i>ge-l-i ahe-t</i> they go-PERF-3NPL Be-PRES-3PL OR <i>ge-l-i-t</i> go-PERF-3NPL-3PL 'They went' / 'They have gone'

In some dialects the third person verb forms end in *-in* as in *ti ge-l-in* 'She went'.

The verb stems change when they take perfective *-l* or second perfective (pluperfect) *-lel*. There are no regular phonetic rules and the forms are irregular.

The following are some examples:

---

<i>ja</i> 'go'	<i>ge-</i> as in <i>gela</i> '(he) went'
<i>ho</i> 'become'	<i>jha-</i>
<i>ghal</i> 'wear', insert'	<i>ghat-</i>
<i>kha</i> 'eat'	<i>khal-</i>
<i>kər</i> 'do'	<i>ke-</i>
<i>mər</i> 'die'	<i>me-</i>
<i>de</i> 'give'	<i>di-</i>
<i>ye</i> 'come'	<i>a-</i>
<i>mhəŋ</i> 'say'	<i>mhəŋa- / mhəŋ-</i>

---

There are some specific phonetic changes in the following stems when they take *-l* or *-lel*:

- V → V-*it* in *saŋ* 'tell', *maŋ* 'ask for', *bəŋh* 'see'.  
V → V-*t* in *dhu* 'wash', *ghe* 'take'.  
V → V-*a* optionally in *nigh* 'start going', *riŋh* 'penetrate', *pəl* 'run', *mił* 'get', *uɖ* 'fly', *nim* 'calm down', *niw* 'cool down', *bud* 'sink down', *gəl* 'drip', *jəl* 'burn', *wijh* 'be extinguished', *kəl* 'be understood'.  
V → V-*i* optionally in *moh* 'be tempted', *toš* 'be satisfied', *rah* 'live', *pah* 'see'.  
V → V-*y* in *ga* 'sing', *dhya* 'meditate', *nah* / *nha* 'bathe', *rah* 'live', *wah* 'carry', *pah* 'see', *sah* 'endure'.

In addition, *le* 'wear' becomes *lya-* / *lyay-*, *pi-* 'drink' becomes *pya-* / *pyay-*, *wi* 'calve' becomes *wya-* / *wyay-* and *bhi* 'fear' becomes *bhya-* / *bhyay-*.

Examples of present and past tenses:

### Present

- (96) *mi bhat kha-t-o*  
I-NOM rice eat-IMPF-1MSG-PRES Ø  
'I eat rice.'
- (97) *kay kər-t-es? – mi bhat kha-t-e*  
what do-IMPF-2FSG – I rice eat-IMPF-1FSG-PRES Ø  
OR  
*kha-t-e / khat ahe*  
eat-IMPF-1FSG / IMPF Be-PRES  
'What are you doing?' – 'I am eating rice.'

In (97) both the alternants can be used to indicate a continuous action. In short the Imperfective aspect marker *-t* with an overt AUX has only one interpretation whereas the one without an overt AUX is ambiguous.

(i) imperfective + Ø Present is used to show habitual actions or recurring events in the present time:

(98) *to nehmi khārā bol-t-o*  
 he-MSG always true speak-IMP-3MSG-PRES Ø  
 'He always speaks the truth.'

(99) *jun-mādhe ithe paus pād-t-o*  
 June-PP here rain-3MSG fall-IMP-3MSG-PRES Ø  
 'It rains here in June.'

(ii) It is used to state a general law as in:

(100) *pruthwi sury-a-bhowāti phir-t-e*  
 earth-FSG sun-OBL-around revolve-IMP-3FSG-PRES Ø  
 'The earth revolves round the sun.'

Note that in (i) and (ii) the use of *ahe* is ruled out because with *ahe* the action would be restricted only to the time of speaking – the sense that the action is for ever would be lost.

(iii) It is also used for a performative action:

(101) *mi tu-la wāčān de-t-o ki...*  
 I you-DAT promise give-IMP-1MSG-PRES Ø that...  
 'I hereby promise you that ...'

(iv) It is used sometimes to narrate events in the past – it is called Historic Present:

(102) *śiwaṣi māharāj koṇḍaṇa ghe-ṇ-ya-ce*  
 Shivaji the king-MSG Kondana the fort take-INF-OBL-PP  
*ṭhārāw-t-at*  
 decide-IMP-3MPL-HON  
 'King Shivaji decides to take the fort called Kondana.'  
*aplya wiśwasu sakhākar-ya-n-na bolaw-t-at*  
 his trustworthy companion-OBL-PL-DAT call-IMP-3MPL-HON  
*aṇi mhāṇ-t-at ...*  
 and say-IMP-3MPL-HON  
 'He calls his trusted companions and says...'

Note: Shivaji was a brave emperor who fought with the Mughal empire and established the Maratha kingdom in the 17th century.

*Past*

Past time is indicated by the perfective aspect without the present tense auxiliary.

- (103) *mi pəḷa-l-o*  
 I-MSG run-PERF-1MSG PRES Ø  
 'I ran.'
- (104) *ti-ne kal bhat kha-ll-a*  
 she-ERG yesterday rice-MSG eat-PERF-3MSG-PRES Ø  
 'She ate rice.'
- (105) *kal mi bhat kha-ll-a ahe, aj mē-la bhat nako*  
 yesterday I rice-MSG eat-PERF-3MSG Be-PRES today I-DAT rice NEG  
 \*'I have eaten rice yesterday – I don't want rice today.'

Note that a specific time adverb such as 'yesterday' with Present Perfect is ruled out in English but it is allowed in Marathi. In fact V-*l* + Be in Marathi is not the same as have -en + V in English.

- (106) *tu kay kha-t-es?*  
 you what eat-IMP-3FSG-PRES Ø  
 'What would you eat (What would you like to eat now)?'

Answer:

- (107) *mi bhat kha-ll-a*  
 I-ERG rice (M) eat-PERF-3MSG-PRES Ø

OR

- (108) *mi bhat kha-ll-a ahe*  
 I rice (M) eat-PERF-3MSG Be-PRES  
 Both the answers are possible and they both mean:  
 'I have eaten rice (= so I won't eat anything now).'
- (109) *ek hota rāja*  
 one Be-PAST king  
 'There was a king.'

(i) perfective + Present is used to show a non-factive condition as in:

- (110) *udya to a-la tər kay kər-u?*  
 tomorrow he come-PERF (PRES Ø) then what do-IMP-1SG  
 'Suppose he comes tomorrow – then what do I do?'

*Archaic present*

It is used only in poetry. The verb is inflected for number and person.

*ga* ‘sing’ and *ho* ‘become’:

	Singular	Plural
1 MFN	<i>gai / hoi</i>	<i>gat / hot</i>
2 MFN	<i>gasi / hosi</i>	<i>gata / hota</i>
3 MFN	<i>gai / hoy</i>	<i>gati / hot</i>

Examples:

- (111) *de-s-i dol-e pari nirmi-s-i taya-pudhe*  
 give-ARC-PRES-2SG eye-PL but create-ARC-PRES-2SG they(OBL)-PP  
*andhar*  
 darkness  
 ‘You give them eyes but create darkness in front of them.’
- (112) *kuṣa-lawa ramayana ga-t-i*  
 Kush and Lav Ramayan sing-ARC-PRES-3PL  
 ‘Lav and Kush sing Ramayan.’
- (113) *na dhara-mi śastra kara-i*  
 NEG hold-ARC PRES I weapon hand-LOC  
 ‘I don’t / wouldn’t hold a weapon in my hand.’
- (114) *auśadh na-laga-e mājā-la*  
 medicine-3SG NEG-like-ARC-PRES-3SG I-DAT  
 ‘I do not like medicine.’
- (115) *he khare hoy*  
 this (N) true (N) Be-ARC-PRES  
 ‘This is true.’

In some proverbs also archaic present is used:

- (116) *raja bol-e dala hal-e*  
 king-SG speak-ARC-PRES-3SG army-SG move-ARC-PRES-3SG  
 ‘The king orders and the army moves.’

*Future*

The basic future form is *l* with a suppletive *n/u*. The latter is used only for the first person. This future is often called future 1. A speciality of future 1 is it may not be followed by any auxiliary. It does not generate any aspectual sense. In a certain sense it is an absolute tense. It suggests the probability of an occurrence as in *aj paus paḍel* ‘It may rain today’. The AUX *ah* becomes *as* in future and the main verb can take different aspectual forms as in:

- (117) *udya to ya wel-e-pəryəntə ge-la as-el*  
 tomorrow he-MSG this time-OBL-PP go-PERF(3MSG) Be-FUT-3SG  
 'He might have gone by this time tomorrow.'

In future the verb agrees with the direct cased subject and is inflected for number and person.

*kha* 'eat'

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khain</i>	<i>khau</i>
2	<i>khašil</i>	<i>khal</i>
3	<i>khail</i>	<i>khatil</i>

*ja* 'go'

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>jain</i>	<i>jau</i>
2	<i>jašil</i>	<i>jal</i>
3	<i>jail</i>	<i>jatil</i>

*as* 'be'

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>asen</i>	<i>asu</i>
2	<i>asəšil</i> / <i>əššil</i>	<i>asal</i>
3	<i>asel</i>	<i>astil</i>

The consonant-ending stem has a variant in the first person singular which replaces *-en* by *-in* / *el*: *bāsen* / *bāsin* / *bāsel* 'sit', *kāren* / *kārin* / *kārel* 'do', *pālen* / *pālin* / *pālel* etc. The form *kāril* in place of *kārel* is dialectical.

Future is used to state a general law:

- (119) *nədi šewṭi sagəra-la-c miḷ-el*  
 river-SG finally ocean-PP-PART meet-FUT-3SG  
 'A river finally will meet an ocean.'

It is also used to express a non-factive condition:

- (120) *to ja-il tər mi ye-in*  
 he-SG go-FUT-3SG then I-SG COME-FUT-1SG  
 'I will come if he goes.'

*Past habitual*

There is no special mark for expressing a habitual action in the present. As we have already noted under the uses of imperfective + Ø Present, habitual action is expressed by the simple present:

- (121) *to*            *roj / həlli*                      *wyayam*    *kər-t-o*  
           he-MSG everyday / these days exercise do-IMPF-3MSG  
           ‘He takes exercise everyday / these days.’

But for expressing a habitual action in the past, the past habitual is used. This is expressed by using certain forms of the main verb. The main verb is inflected for number and person:

*kha* (tr) ‘eat’

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khai</i>	<i>khau</i>
2	<i>khas</i>	<i>kha</i>
3	<i>khai</i>	<i>khat</i>

*uṭh* (intr) ‘get up’

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>uṭhe</i>	<i>uṭhu / uṭhto</i>
2	<i>uṭhəs</i>	<i>uṭha</i>
3	<i>uṭhe</i>	<i>uṭhət</i>

*əs* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>əse</i>	<i>əsu</i>
2	<i>əsəs</i>	<i>əsa</i>
3	<i>əse</i>	<i>əsət</i>

Past habitual with 2nd person plural is not possible. With 1st person plural it is possible only with *əs*.

The use of *əs* as AUX in past habitual form is more common than the use of main verbs in past habitual form. When *əs* is used as an AUX, the main verb takes aspectual markers.



Examples:

- (122) *to nehmi ran-a-t ja-t əs-e*  
 he-SG always forest-OBL-LOC go-IMPf be-PAST HAB-3SG

is more common than

- (123) *to nehmi ran-a-t ja-i*  
 he-SG always forest-OBL-LOC go-PAST HAB-3SG  
 ‘He always used to go into a forest.’

- (124) *te kha-t*  
 they-3PL eat-PAST HAB-3PL  
 ‘They used to eat.’

- (125) *ti uṭh-ayči tewha to kama-wər ge-lel-a əse*  
 she get up-PRED then he-MSG work-PP go-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-3MSG be-3SG  
 ‘He would already have gone to work by the time she would get up.’

(i) Past Habitual has two alternant forms in the negative:

- (130) *te ja-i-na-t / ja-t-na*  
 they-3PL go-PAST HAB-3SG-NEG-3PL / go-PAST HAB-3PL-NEG  
 ‘They wouldn’t go.’

Notice the complexity of the number person markers when the negative is inserted in the verb form. In the negation however, the habitual sense is lost.

For other forms of habitual see predictive.

### 3.4.4.2 Aspect

There are altogether eight aspect markers in Marathi. They represent the grammatical aspect in contrast to the lexical aspect mentioned earlier as quasi-aspectuals. Grammatical aspect markers can occur in present, past and future tense – in fact in all the tense modes. They all utilize the respective tense forms of the auxiliary i.e. *ah / ho / əs* ‘be’. We have already seen two of them under present and past tenses, namely the imperfective and the perfective, marked by *-t* and *-l* respectively.

#### *Imperfective*

Imperfective aspect representing a progressive or continuous state is found in all the three tenses, the present, the past and the future.

Present progressive / continuous:

- (131) *to amba kha-t-o / kha-t ahe*  
 he-MSG mango eat-IMPF-3MSG / eat-IMPF Be-PRES  
 OR *kha-t-o-y*  
 eat-IMPF-3MSG-Be-PRES  
 'He is eating a mango.'

Notice that

- (132) *to roj amba kha-t-o Ø*  
 he-MSG everyday mango eat-IMPF-3MSG PRES  
 'He eats a mango everyday.'

could be called present simple postulating *ah* (Be) with a zero realization.

Past progressive / continuous:

- (133) *to amba khat hot-a*  
 he-MSG mango eat-IMPF Be-PAST-3MSG  
 'He was eating a mango.'

Future progressive / continuous:

- (134) *to amba kha-t as-el*  
 he-MSG mango eat-IMPF Be-FUT-3SG  
 'He will be eating a mango.'

Past habitual:

- (135) *to amba kha-t as-e*  
 he-MSG mango eat-IMPF Be-PAST HAB-3SG  
 'He used to eat / to be eating a mango.'

Archaic present:

- (136) *te ambe kha-t asə-ti*  
 they-MPL mangoes eat-IMPF Be-ARCH-PRES-3PL  
 'They are eating mangoes.'

(Future progressive / continuous):

*Perfective*

The perfective marker is *l*.

Present Perfect:

- (137) *tya-ne amba kha-ll-a ahe*  
 he-ERG mango-MSG eat-PERF-3MSG Be-PRES  
 ‘He has eaten a mango.’

Notice that

- (138) *tya-ne amba kha-ll-a Ø*  
 he-ERG mango-MSG eat-PERF-3MSG PRES  
 ‘He ate a mango.’

could be called past simple.

The perfective aspect without an AUX is like the English simple past tense while with an AUX it is a perfect more or less in the English sense (but see 3.4.4.1). For example if someone asks

- (139) *majh-i wəhi kuṭhe ahe?*  
 my-F notebook-F where Be-PRES  
 ‘Where is my notebook?’

the response

- (140) *mi ṭebl-a-wər ṭhew-l-i-ye*  
 I-ERG table-OBL-PP keep-PERF-3FSG-Be-PRES  
 ‘I have kept it on the table.’

would be a proper answer. Not using the AUX here would be a bit odd if not inappropriate.

Past perfect:

- (141) *ti-ne tya-la saṇ-ṇ-ya-purwi-c tya-ne amba*  
 she-ERG he-DAT ask-INF-OBL-PP-PART he-ERG mango-MSG  
*kha-ll-a hot-a*  
 eat-PERF-3MSG Be-PAST-3MSG  
 ‘Even before her asking, he had eaten a mango.’

Past habitual:

- (142) *kuṭumb-a-ca našta ho-ṇ-ya-purwi tya-ne amba*  
 family-OBL-GEN breakfast have-INF-OBL-PP he-ERG mango-MSG  
*kha-ll-a əs-e*  
 eat-PERF-3MSG Be-PAST HAB  
 ‘Before the family had breakfast, he used to have eaten a mango (= he would have eaten a mango).’

Archaic present:

- (143) *tya-n-ni ambe kha-ll-e əsa-ti*  
 they-OBL-ERG mangoes-MPL eat-PERF-3MPL Be-ARCH PRES-3PL  
 ‘They have eaten mangoes.’

Future perfect:

- (144) *tya-ne amba kha-ll-a əs-el*  
 he-ERG mango-MSG eat-PERF-3MSG Be-FUT-3SG  
 ‘He might / will have eaten a mango.’

### *Second perfective (pluperfect)*

Second perfective also known as pluperfect or past perfect is mostly used in non-finite form as attributive of a noun. In intransitive verbs there is subject concord. In transitive verbs there is object concord or the verb is in neuter if there is no noun in the nominative case. The second perfective is marked by *lel*, which is inflected for gender, number and person.

*ja:*

	Singular	Plural
1	MF	<i>gelelo</i>
	M	<i>gelelo / gelela</i>
	F	<i>gelele / geleli</i>
2	MF	<i>gelela</i>
	M	<i>gelele</i>
	F	<i>geleli</i>
3	M	<i>gelela</i>
	F	<i>geleli</i>
	N	<i>gelele / gelela</i>

*kha*: The verb agrees with the direct cased object

		Singular	Plural
3	M	<i>khallela</i>	<i>khallele</i>
	F	<i>khalleli</i>	<i>khallelya</i>
	N	<i>khallele / khallela</i>	<i>khalleli</i>

(i) Note that *lel* may be followed by past tense which has a Ø marker:

(145) *taj mǎhal amhi purw-ic pahi-lel-a Ø*  
 Taj Mahal-MSG we-ERG long ago-PART see-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-MSG PAST  
 ‘We had seen the Taj long back.’

(146) *dar-a-t kutrǎ bǎs-lel-ǎ ǎs-ayc-ǎ Ø*  
 door-OBL-LOC dog-NSG sit-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-3NSG Be-PRED-NSG PAST  
 ‘The dog would be sitting at the door.’

(ii) *lel* can be followed by AUX *ahe* ‘Be’ in all the tenses:

(147) *khoṭǎ bolu nǎk-o-s – tu-c he pǎtrǎ*  
 lie tell-IMP NEG-Be-2SG – you-SG-PART this letter-NSG  
*lih-lel-ǎ ahe-s / hot-ǎs / ǎṣ-ṣil*  
 write-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-3NSG Be-PRES-2SG Be-PAST-2SG Be-FUT-2SG  
 ‘Don’t tell a lie – it is you who have written / had written / will have written  
 this letter.’

(iii) The use of second perfective without *ah* or *ho* is archaic or sub-dialectal as in

(148) *mi ṣǎl-e-t ǎs-tana khel-ḷe-li*  
 I-FSG school-OBL-LOC Be-IMPF(NON-FIN) play-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-1FSG  
 ‘I had played when I was in school.’

(148) is sub-dialectal and the standard form is:

(149) *mi ṣǎl-et ǎs-tana khel-ḷe hot-e*  
 I-FSG school-LOC Be-IMPF(NON-FIN) play-PERF-1FSG Be-PAST-1FSG  
 ‘I had played when I was in school.’

(iv) Its use with the verb *ah* or *ho* is quite common as seen below:

(150) *mi tya-la lǎhanpǎn-i kusti kǎr-tana pahi-lel-ǎ*  
 I he-DAT childhood-LOC PHR V: wrestle-NON-FIN see-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-3NSG  
*ahe*  
 Be-PRES  
 ‘I have seen him wrestling in his childhood.’

- (151) *mi tya-ča ghār-i ge-l-o tewha to*  
 I-MSG he-GEN house-LOC go-PERF-1MSG that time he-MSG  
*jhop-lel-a hot-a*  
 sleep-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-3MSG Be-PAST-3MSG  
 ‘When I reached his house he had already gone to sleep.’

### Prospective

The prospective is marked with *-nar*. Some grammarians call it future 2. The main verb can be followed by a zero present or by the AUX *ahe*. The main verb in the prospective aspect is never inflected for gender, number, or person. The subject is always in the nominative case. Prospective present indicates future. Often it shows more certainty and speaker’s intention than future 1 *l / n* form. The AUX that follows the prospective can take any of the tense modes.

- (152) *tu kal ye-nar hot-as na?*  
 you-MSG yesterday come-PROSP Be-PAST-2MSG Q-TAG  
 ‘You were going to come tomorrow – weren’t you?’
- (153) *ya weḷ-i to majha-kāḍe utar-nar ahe*  
 this time-PP he I-POSS-PP stay-PROSP Be-PRES  
 ‘He is going to stay with me this time.’
- (154) *to tithe nākki-c aś-nar ahe*  
 he there certainly-PART be-PROSP Be-PRES  
 ‘He is very certainly going to be there.’
- (155) *tumhi ye-nar aś-al tār pharā-c ḥan*  
 you-PL come-PROSP be-FUT-2PL then much-PART good  
 ‘It would be / is very good if you would be / are coming.’

(i) Note that future 1 denotes uncertainty. Prospective indicates a kind of certainty as in:

- (156) *kāḍācit to uḍya ye-il*  
 probably he-SG tomorrow come-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Probably he will come tomorrow (but I am not sure).’
- (157) *rāja n-aś-l-ya-ne to uḍya ye-nar Ø*  
 leave NEG-be-PERF-OBL-PP he tomorrow come-PROSP PRES  
 ‘Since he hasn’t got any leave, he is sure to come tomorrow.’

### Predictive

The predictive is marked by *-ayc*.<sup>12</sup> It inflects for gender, number and person. The verb always agrees with the subject in nominative case. If the subject is in dative and there is no nominative cased noun the verb is in the third person neuter form.

Predictive can be followed by present which is Ø, or by past which also is Ø, or by the AUX *ah* 'Be'. Predictive indicates maximum possibility and always refers to time that is posterior to – that is, the time that follows – the reference point.

#### Predictive forms

*kha* 'eat':

		Singular	Plural
1	MF		<i>khayco</i>
	M	<i>khayco / khayca</i>	<i>khayce</i>
	F	<i>khayči</i>	<i>khayča</i>
2	MF		<i>khayca / khaycat</i>
	M	<i>khayca / khaycas</i>	<i>khayce / khaycet</i>
	F	<i>khayči / khayčis</i>	<i>khayča / khayčat</i>
3	M	<i>khayca</i>	<i>khayce</i>
	F	<i>khayči</i>	<i>khayča</i>
	N	<i>khayce / khaycə</i>	<i>khayči</i>

*ja* 'go':

		Singular	Plural
1	MF		<i>jayco / jaycot</i>
	M	<i>jayco</i>	<i>jayce</i>
	F	<i>jayce / jayči</i>	<i>jayča</i>
2	MF		<i>jayca / jaycat</i>
	M	<i>jayca / jaycas</i>	<i>jayce / jaycet</i>
	F	<i>jayči / jayčis</i>	<i>jayča / jayčat</i>
3	M	<i>jayca</i>	<i>jayce</i>
	F	<i>jayči</i>	<i>jayča</i>
	N	<i>jayce / jaycə</i>	<i>jayči</i>

*as* 'be':

		Singular	Plural
1	MF		<i>asayco / asaycot</i>
	M	<i>asayco</i>	<i>asayce</i>
	F	<i>asayce / asayči</i>	<i>asayča</i>
2	MF		<i>asayca / asaycat</i>
	M	<i>asayca / asaycas</i>	<i>asayce / asaycet</i>
	F	<i>asayči / asayčis</i>	<i>asayča / asayčat</i>
3	M	<i>asayca</i>	<i>asayce</i>
	F	<i>asayči</i>	<i>asayča</i>
	N	<i>asayce / asaycə</i>	<i>asayči</i>

*ho* ‘become, happen’:

	Singular	Plural
1	MF	<i>whayco</i> / <i>whaucot</i>
	M	<i>whayce</i>
	F	<i>whayce</i> / <i>whayči</i>
2	MF	<i>whayca</i> / <i>whaycat</i>
	M	<i>whayce</i> / <i>whaycet</i>
	F	<i>whayči</i> / <i>whayčis</i>
3	M	<i>whayca</i>
	F	<i>whayči</i>
	N	<i>whayce</i> / <i>whaycə</i>

Predictive as past habitual:

- (158) *lahanpaṇ-i to krikeṭ khel-ayca / khel-e /*  
 childhood-LOC he-MSG cricket play-PRED-3MSG / play-PAST HAB-3SG /  
*khel-ət əs-e*  
 play-IMPf Be-PAST HAB-3SG  
 ‘He would OR he used to play cricket in his childhood.’
- (159) *ram kəmi bol-ayca Ø / bol-e /*  
 Ram-MSG not much speak-PRED-3MSG PAST / speak-PAST HAB-3SG /  
*bol-ət əs-e*  
 speak-IMPf be-PAST HAB-3SG  
 ‘Ram would not speak much.’

Examples (158, 159) indicate that predictive forms may be substituted by other habitual past forms noted earlier in 3.4.4.1 (Past habitual). However, prediction about a specific future event or action is possible only in the predictive form. The use of predictive form indicates maximum likelihood:

- (160) *udya to aṅkhi kahi mag-ayc-a Ø /*  
 tomorrow he-MSG in addition something ask for-PRED-3MSG PAST /  
*\*mag-e / \*mag-ət əs-e*  
 ask for-PAST HAB / ask for-IMPf Be-PAST HAB  
 ‘He would ask for something else one of these days.’
- (161) *udya to khoṭə bol-ay-ca Ø*  
 tomorrow he-MSG lie speak-PRED-3MSG PAST  
 ‘Tomorrow he might tell a lie.’
- (162) *amhi lahanpaṇ-i krikeṭ khel-ayco Ø*  
 we-MPL childhood-LOC cricket play-PRED PAST  
 ‘We would play cricket in our childhood.’



- (163) *to udyā ja-yca hot-a*  
 he-MSG tomorrow go-PRED Be-PAST-3MSG  
 ‘He was to go tomorrow.’

The predictive may be used to refer to an action in the future time. In this instance it is semantically on a par with the prospective+Be or simple future mentioned earlier.

- (164) *to udyā ya-yca / ye-ṇar-e / ye-il*  
 he-MSG tomorrow come-PRED-3MSG / come-PROSP-Be-PRES / come-FUT  
 ‘He will come tomorrow.’
- (165) *thəṇḍ-it ty-a-n-na uṭh-ayla uṣir*  
 winter-PP they-OBL-PL-DAT get up-PRED (NON-FIN) delay-MSG  
*wh-ayc-a Ø / ho-i / ho-t əs-e*  
 happen-PRED-3MSG PAST / happen-PAST HAB / happen-IMPF be-PAST HAB  
 ‘In winter they would get up late.’

We have already noted the obligative modal meaning of the predictive aspect in 3.4.3.3. Here are some more examples:

- (166) *mə-la mumbəi-la ja-yc-ə ahe*  
 I-DAT Mumbai-PP go-PRED-3NSG Be-PRES  
 ‘I have to go to Mumbai.’
- (167) *əjun majhi anghoḷ whayči ahe*  
 yet my-F bath-FSG be-PRED-FSG Be-PRES  
 ‘I have yet to take my bath.’

In the example below the obligative takes the dative subject:

- (168) *məla bəs-la bheṭ-aycə ahe*  
 I-DAT boss-PP meet-PRED-3NSG Be-PRES  
 ‘I have to meet the boss.’

### *Inceptive*

The inceptive is formed by compounding the verb *lag* ‘come to touch’ with the main verb (V1) marked with the inceptive marker *u* or the desiderative marker *ayla*. It generates an infinitival construction. The subject is always in the nominative and the verb agrees with *lag*. The inceptive may also be expressed by the phrasal verb *surwat / suru kər* ‘beginning + do = begin, start’ preceded by a noun with the PP *-la* or with a non-finite nominal-verb form marked with the desiderative marker *ayla*. Note that the quasi-aspectual *-u lag* is transitive and the subject is marked ergative in the perfective as in (173). The quasi-aspectual

*ayla lag* however, never takes the ergative subject. It is interesting to note that in formal use the *-ayla lag* becomes *-awāyala lag* which shows its relation to desiderative (see Note 12).

- (169) *tewha-pasun sənātkumar mē-la bheṭu / bheṭ-ayla*  
 then-PP Sanatkumar-3MSG I-DAT meet-INCP / meet-DESI  
*lag-l-a*  
 V2-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Since then Sanatkumar began to meet me.’
- (170) *aj-pasu to æphis-la ja-u / ja-yla / ja-wāyala lag-la ahe*  
 today-PP he office-PP go-INCP / go-DESI / go-DESI V2-PERF Be-PRES  
 ‘He has started going to the office from today.’
- (171) *to kam kār-u / kār-ayla lag-la*  
 he work do-INCP / do-DESI V2-PERF  
 ‘He began to work.’
- (172) *to kam kār-ayla surwat kār-t-o*  
 he-3MSG work do-DESI PHR V: begin-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He begins to work.’
- (173) *tya-ne kam kār-ayla surwat ke-l-i*  
 he-ERG work do-DESI PHR V: begin-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He began to work.’

### *Infinitive*

The infinitive is marked by *ṇā / ṇe*. Its use as a finite main verb is archaic and has obligative sense as in (176). Its use in the quasi-aspectual with *lag* as V2 is very formal as in (177). Its use with quasi-modals has obligative sense. It is mainly used to form a nominal-verb form as in (176). Traditionally – following the English model for grammar and dictionary-making – it is customary to quote a verb in the infinitive form: *kārṇe* ‘to do’, *jaṇe* ‘to go’, *bāsṇe* ‘to sit’, *bolṇe* ‘to speak’ etc.

- (174) *tu to sinema pah-ṇe bārobār nahi*  
 you that movie see-INF good NEG  
 ‘It is not good for you to see that movie.’
- (175) *pātr-a-s uttār deṇe*  
 letter-OBL-DAT reply give-INFN  
 ‘Send a reply to (this) letter.’ (written at the end of a letter)

- (176) *amči kənnya či kusum hica wiwah kər-ŋe-ce*  
 our-FSG daughter-FSG Miss Kusum her marriage do-*INFN-PP*  
*yoji-le ahe*  
 plan-PERF Be-PRES  
 ‘We have planned the marriage of our daughter Miss Kusum.’  
 (usually in a marriage invitation card)
- (177) *to kam kər-ŋya-s lag-la*  
 he work do-*INFN-OBL-PP* V2-PERF  
 ‘He began to work.’
- (178) *mala tice aplya ghəri rahṇə pəsəntə nahi*  
 I-DAT her our home-LOC stay-*INF* approve NEG  
 ‘I don’t approve of her staying in our family.’

### Completive

Completive is marked by *-un* to indicate that the action is complete. It is used in quasi-aspectuals (see 3.4.2.2) as in (179).

- (179) *mi tya-la ołkh-un ahe*  
 I he-DAT know-COMPL V2-Be-PRES  
 ‘I know him quite well.’

It is used in terminative quasi-aspectuals also:

- (180) *tya-la kəl-un a-l-ə*  
 he-DAT realize-COMPL V2-PERF-NSGS  
 ‘He came to realize.’

Following examples illustrate the attributive use of aspectuals:

Imperfective	<i>caltı gadi</i>	‘moving train’
Perfective	<i>gele wəršə</i>	‘the year passed / last year’
Prospective	<i>nacṇari mulgi</i>	‘the dancing girl’
Predictive	<i>šikayce mulge</i>	‘boys who are to learn’
Second perfective	<i>saṇḍlele dudh</i>	‘spilt milk’

These forms are inflected for gender and number. We will take the prospective non-finite verb-form for illustration:

	Singular	Plural
M	<i>həsṇar-a mulga</i> ‘laughing boy’	<i>həsṇar-e mulge</i> ‘laughing boys’
F	<i>həsṇar-i mulgi</i> ‘laughing girl’	<i>həsṇar-ya muli</i> ‘laughing girls’
N	<i>həsṇar-e/ə bał</i> ‘laughing baby’	<i>həsṇar-i baḷe / baḷə</i> ‘laughing babies’

### 3.4.4.3 Mood

Marathi verbs distinguish five moods: The imperative, the hortative, the desiderative, the permissive, and the conditional.

#### *Imperative*

The imperative pervades all three persons. The basic imperative morpheme is considered to be *u* with certain morphological variations. In the first person, it is used to ask permission. In the third person, it expresses a wish, a situation that would produce the desired thing. The true imperative in the sense of an order, command or request is confined to second person only. In the singular it uses the bare verbal stem. In the plural the verb is marked by *a* incurring certain morphological changes in the verb stem as noted below. The verb is inflected for number and person.

		Singular	Plural
<i>uth</i> 'get up'	1	<i>uṭhu</i>	<i>uṭhu</i>
	2	<i>uṭh</i>	<i>uṭha</i>
	3	<i>uṭho</i>	<i>uṭ hot</i>
<i>ja</i> 'go'	1	<i>jau</i>	<i>jau</i>
	2	<i>ja</i>	<i>ja</i>
	3	<i>jawo</i>	<i>ja wot</i>
<i>as</i> 'be'	1	<i>asu</i>	<i>asu</i>
	2	<i>as</i>	<i>asa</i>
	3	<i>aso</i>	<i>asot</i>
<i>ho</i> 'become, happen'	1	<i>hou</i>	<i>hou</i>
	2	<i>ho</i>	<i>wha</i>
	3	<i>howo</i>	<i>howot</i>

The following verb stems ending in *-e* become *-y* in 2nd person plural: *de* > *dya* 'give', *ne* > *nya* 'carry', *ghe* > *ghya* 'take', *ye* > *ya* 'come', *le* > *lya* 'wear'.

Examples:

(181) *mi ja-u*

I go-IMP-1SG  
'Should I go?'

(182) *tu ja*

you go-IMP-2SG  
'Go!'

(183) *to ye-wo*

he-SG come-IMP-SG  
'Let him come / May he come.'

### *Hortative*

The hortative is used to ask permission to do something. It is confined to first person inclusive plural subject only and expresses the sense of a plea, that is, 'let us'. The verb is marked by the suffix *-u* followed by *-ya* 'come'. *-u* is an inceptive aspect marker and the verb form *ya* is in the imperative mood. The hortative is often followed by *ka*, the yes-no question marker.

Examples:

- (184) *apəŋ ja-u ya*  
           we   go-HORT  
           'Let's go.'
- (185) *apəŋ wiʒəyi ho-uya*  
           we   victorious become-HORT  
           'Let's be victorious.'
- (186) *apəŋ nighu-ya ka*  
           we   make a move-HORT Q  
           'Shall we make a move?'

### *Desiderative / subjunctive*

The desiderative, also called subjunctive, is marked by *-aw* in a finite verb and *-aw* or *-ay* in the non-finite form when it is followed by an oblique case marker + a postposition such as *-c*, *-s*, *-la*, *-saʔhi*, *-kərita* etc. The intransitive verb may take a nominative or an ergative subject, although with a certain semantic difference. The nominative subject indicates optative sense. The ergative has an epistemic value. The subject of the transitive verb is always in the ergative case and therefore the verb agrees with the direct cased object. The intransitive verb agrees with the direct cased subject. If the intransitive verb has an ergative subject then the verb is in the neutral form. The verb in the desiderative is inflected for gender and number and optionally for person.

*kha* 'eat'

		Singular	Plural
3	M	<i>khawa</i>	<i>khawe / khawet</i>
	F	<i>khawi</i>	<i>khawya / khawyat</i>
	N	<i>khawe / khawə</i>	<i>khawi / khawit</i>

*ja* 'go'

		Singular	Plural
1	M	<i>jawa</i>	<i>jawe / jawet</i>
	F	<i>jawi</i>	<i>jawya / jawyat</i>
2	M	<i>jawa / jawas</i>	<i>jawe / jawet</i>
	F	<i>jawi / jawis</i>	<i>jawya / jawyat</i>
3	M	<i>jawa</i>	<i>jawe / jawet</i>
	F	<i>jawi</i>	<i>jawya / jawyat</i>
	N	<i>jawe / jawə</i>	<i>jawi / jawit</i>

Irregular forms: (See 2.6.12.2 for morphological changes.)

*ho* 'become, happen' → *wh-*  
*ne* 'carry' → *ny-*  
*de* 'give' → *dy-*  
*ye* 'come' → *y-*  
*le* 'wear' → *ly-*  
*pi* 'drink' → *py-*  
*wi* 'calve' → *wy-*  
*bhi* 'fear' → *bhy-*

The desiderative is used to express obligation, strong prediction, desire or wish, blessings, intention etc.

Examples:

(i) Obligation:

- (187) *tya-nə hi səwəy soḍ-aw-i*  
 he-ERG this-FSG habit-FSG give up-DESI-FSG  
 'He should give up that habit.'
- (188) *ram-a-ne /nə rawəṇ mar-aw-a*  
 Ram-OBL-ERG Rawan-MSG kill-DESI-MSG (object concord)  
 'Ram should kill Rawan.'
- (189) *ram-a-nə/ne rawəṇ-a-la mar-aw-e*  
 Ram-OBL-ERG Rawan-OBL-ACC kill-DESI-3MSG (non-concord)  
 'Ram should kill Rawan.'

(ii) Prediction, wish etc.:

- (190) *aj paus pəḍ-aw-a*  
 today rain-MSG fall-DESI-3MSG  
 'It should rain today.'

- (191) *he rajǰə wh-aw-ə əš-i šri-n-č-i*  
 this kingdom become-DESI-3NSG that-FSG God-HON-PL-POSS-FSG  
*ičča ahe*  
 wish-FSG Be-PRES  
 ‘God wishes it ought to be a kingdom / May it be a kingdom.’

(iii) The desiderative is also used in narratives to show habitual actions:

- (192) *tya-nə ghər-i y-aw-ə, əs-el te kha-w-ə,*  
 he-ERG home-LOC come-DESI-3NSG be-FUT that-NSG eat-DESI-3NSG  
*ən nə bol-ta nigh-un ja-w-ə*  
 and NEG speak-IMP(ON-FIN) leave-COMPL go-DESI-3NSG  
 ‘He would come home, eat whatever he got and then he would leave without speaking (– so it went on).’

Note that the desiderative uses a special negative *nəye* (see 10.2.2).

- (193) *aj paus pəḍ-aw-a*  
 today rain-3MSG fall-DESI-3MSG  
 ‘It should rain today.’

- (194) NEG: *aj paus pəḍ-u nəye*  
 today rain fall-INCP NEG

OR

- (195) *aj paus pəḍ-ta kama nəye*  
 today rain fall-COND use-OBL-(DAT) NEG  
 ‘It shouldn’t rain today.’

Notice that the lexical meaning of *kama* which is a reduction of *kam-a-la* (work / use-OBL-DAT) is lost.

If the NEG precedes the verb, the desiderative can take *nə* or *nahi*, the imperative takes only *nə*, and the inceptive takes only *nahi*:

- (196) *aj paus nə pəḍ-aw-a / pəḍ-o*  
 today rain-MSG NEG fall-DESI-MSG fall-IMP-3SG  
 ‘It shouldn’t rain today.’

- (197) *aj paus nahi pəḍ-aw-a / pəḍ-u*  
 today rain NEG fall-DESI-3MSG / fall-INCP  
 ‘It shouldn’t rain today.’

### Permissive

The permissive is confined to first and third person. It employs the suffix *u / un* and is followed by *de* 'give' in the sense of 'let'. The tense and agreement is marked on *de*. *-u / un* is an inceptive aspect marker and the verb form *de* is in the imperative mood. The verb optionally takes person and number markers.

Examples:

- (198) *(tu) mǝ-la ja-u-de.*  
 (you) I-DAT go-PERM  
 'Allow me to go.'
- (199) *(tumhi) mǝ-la ja-u-dya(t)*  
 (you-2PL) I-DAT go-PERM-(2PL)  
 'Allow me to go.'
- (200) *to / tya-la ja-u(n)-de*  
 he / he-DAT go-PERM  
 'Let him go.'
- (201) *ja-u-de mǝr-u-de*  
 go-PERM die-PERM  
 'Let it go to hell!'
- (202) *jǝg-a aɳi jǝg-u-dya*  
 live-IMP-2PL and live-PERM-2PL  
 'Live and let live'

Present, past, conditional, past habitual, archaic present, future, desiderative and imperative all express temporal and modal notions. Some grammarians therefore call them tensemodes (see Dhongde 1984). The other two tensemodes are permissive and hortative.

### Conditional

The conditional is marked by *-t*. It expresses a Counter-Factive state.<sup>13</sup> The use of the conditional with the AUX *ǝs* is more common than its use in the main verb. The AUX / verb is inflected for gender, number and person. It agrees with the subject which is always in the nominative case.



*kha* 'eat'

		Singular	Plural
1	MF		<i>khato</i>
	M	<i>khato</i>	
	F	<i>khate / khati</i>	
2	MF		<i>khata / khata</i>
	M	<i>khata / khatas</i>	<i>khate / khatet</i>
	F	<i>khati / khatis</i>	<i>khatya / khatyat</i>
3	M	<i>khata</i>	<i>khate</i>
	F	<i>khati</i>	<i>khatya</i>
	N	<i>khate / khatə</i>	<i>khati</i>

*ja* 'go'

		Singular	Plural
1	MF		<i>jato</i>
	M	<i>jato</i>	
	F	<i>jate / jati</i>	
2	MF		<i>jata / jatat</i>
	M	<i>jata / jatas</i>	
	F	<i>jati / jatis</i>	
3	M	<i>jata</i>	<i>jate</i>
	F	<i>jati</i>	<i>jatya</i>
	N	<i>jate / jatə</i>	<i>jati</i>

*as* 'be'

		Singular	Plural
1	MF		<i>asto</i>
	M	<i>asto</i>	
	F	<i>aste / asti</i>	
2	MF		<i>asta / astat</i>
	M	<i>asta / astas</i>	
	F	<i>asti / astis</i>	
3	M	<i>asta</i>	<i>aste</i>
	F	<i>asti</i>	<i>astyā</i>
	N	<i>aste / astə</i>	<i>asti</i>

The negative of *as* is *nas*.

Examples:

- (203) *mi (jər) tithe əs-to tər mi he ho-u di-le*  
 I-1MSG (if) there be-COND-1MSG then I this happen-PERM-PERF-NSG  
*n-əs-t-e*  
 NEG-be-PRES-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘If I had been there, I wouldn’t have allowed it to happen.’
- (204) *tu ye-tis / a-li əs-ti-s tər bəre*  
 you-F come-COND / come-PERF be-COND-2FSG then better  
*ho-te / jha-le əs-te*  
 happen-COND-3NSG / become-PERF-3NSG be-COND  
 ‘If you had been there it would have been better.’

Observations:

- i. The conditional clause, which is a subordinate clause optionally takes the conjunction *jər* ‘if’. In fact the predominant practice is to delete it retaining *tər* ‘then’ which is attached to the main clause. This happens because Marathi has a tendency to keep the main clause at the end, that is, to have non-periodic or loose sentences.
- ii. The use of the conditional with the AUX *əs* and its use with the main verb are not always interchangeable. The conditional with the main verb may express a non-factive condition in which case it is interchangeable with the perfective as in:

- (205) *mi ja-ta rah-ilə karyə kay? (poetry)*  
 I go-COND remain-FUT work what  
 ‘If I leave this world what work will remain unfinished?’  
 (= no business would stop in my absence)’
- (206) *mi ge-lo tər kay kam əḍ-ṇar ahe?*  
 I go-PERF then what work obstruct-PROSP Be-PRES  
 ‘If I go what work would be obstructed?’

- iii. The use of the conditional with the main verb sounds archaic in modern Marathi.

### 3.5 Adverb

Adverbs form the largest modifier class in Marathi grammar. They modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, as well as sentences. Basic or proper adverbs form a small class. Most adverbs are derived from various sources such as nouns, pro-

nouns, adjectives, verbs, and even other adverbs. An interesting feature of adverbs derived from inflecting adjectives and some quantifiers is their agreement with an unmarked noun as noted below. Adverbs are best classified by their semantic function as noted in traditional grammars.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.5.1 Basic adverbs

Basic adverbs do not show any inflectional property. Some of these function as intensifiers when they modify adjectives.

Some basic adverbs: *həlu* ‘slowly’, *ləukər* ‘quickly or soon’, *čəkkə* ‘completely’, *punha* ‘again’, *ugic* ‘in vain’, *phar* / *čikkar* ‘very much’, *jəra* ‘slightly’, *mulic* ‘at all’, *muddam* ‘intentionally’, *ugic* ‘for no reason’, *kharokhər* ‘really’, *ithe* ‘here’, *tithe* ‘there’, *ekdəm* ‘all of a sudden’, *pəraspər* ‘straight, without a stop, directly’, *jam* (colloquial) ‘very much’.

Intensifiers: They are used before an adjective to heighten its effect as in *phar šahaṇa* ‘very clever’, *əti utsahi* ‘very enthusiastic’, *əgdi gaḍhəw* ‘totally stupid / total ass’, *kiti utawla* ‘very impatient’ etc.

### 3.5.2 Derived adverbs

#### 3.5.2.1 Noun based

*čirkal* ‘long time’ > *čirkal* ‘for ever’, *karəṇ* ‘reason’ > *ə-karəṇ* ‘without reason’, *sə-karəṇ* ‘with reason’. Often these employ a postposition or an affix: *səkaḷ* ‘morning’ > *səkaḷ-i* ‘in the morning’, *diwəs* ‘day’ > *diws-a* ‘at day time’, *jənmə* ‘life’ > *jənmə-bhər* ‘whole life’, *wyakti* ‘individual’ > *wyakti-šəha* ‘individually’, *əuśə* ‘part’ > *əuśə-təha* ‘to a small degree’, *səuśəy* ‘doubt’ > *nih-səuśəy* ‘without doubt’.

Idiomatic adverbial sense of some nouns:

- (207) *to kay dəgəḍ wac-t-o*  
 he-MSG what stone read-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He does not know what he reads’

Reduplicatives formed from nouns (see 4.5.1.1) used as adverbs: *ghai-ghai* ‘in a hurry’, *tas-ən-tas* ‘for hours’, *ghəḍi-ghəḍi* ‘every moment’.

#### 3.5.2.2 Pronoun based

*hya-muḷe* ‘because of this’, *jeṇe-kərun* / *jya-yoge* ‘by which way’, *yethe* ‘here’, *tethe* ‘there’, *jethe* ‘where’.

### 3.5.2.3 Adjective based

Adjectives may function as adverbs in their original forms or employ a postposition.

- a. *sundār* ‘beautifully’, *mādhur* ‘in a sweet manner’, *niwantā* ‘quiet’, *niwantā* ‘quietly’ ‘leisurely’; *ulāt-a* ‘opposite, upside down’, *ulāt-a* ‘in opposite direction’.
- b. *moṭh-ya-ne* ‘loudly’, *mukaṭ-ya-ne* ‘without speaking’, *ek-da* ‘once’, *pāhil-yan-da* ‘first time’, *bāhu-dha* ‘usually’.

It is interesting to note that the inflected class of adjectives keeps their inflected form in their adverbial function. *caṅla* / *caṅli* / *caṅle* ‘well’, *thoḍa* / *thoḍi* / *thoḍe* ‘slightly, a little bit’. In short the agreement function of adjectives is preserved. The agreement is mostly with a noun which is morphologically unmarked. Agreement is also found with some adverbial quantifiers such as *nemka* ‘exactly’, *thoḍa* ‘a little’ and sentential adverbs like *khārā* ‘true’.

- (208) *lili sarkhi hās-āt rahte*  
 Lili-FSG continuous-FSG laugh-IMPF V2-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Lili laughs continuously.’

- (209) *liline hi batmi sang-it-li khari.*  
 Lili-ERG this news-FSG tell-PERF true-FSG  
 ‘Lili did indeed tell this news.’

- (210) *lili-la nokri nukti-c miḷ-a-li.*  
 Lili-DAT job-FSG recent-FSG-PART get-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Lili got the job only recently.’

Reduplicative forms of adjectives used as adverbs: *ubh-ya-ubh-ya* ‘flying, for short duration’.

### 3.5.2.4 Verb based

These employ various aspectual forms of verbs. *rāḍ-āt* ‘while crying’, *rāḍ-un* ‘by crying’, *ye-tana* ‘while coming’, *kās-un* ‘girding one’s loins – that is, very hard’, *mhāṇ-un* ‘saying – that is, therefore’, *nā-kāl-āt* ‘not knowing – that is, inadvertently’, *ṭhunk-āt* / *murk-āt* ‘gracefully / coyly (manner of walking)’. Some examples: (The verb based adverbs are in bold face.)

- (211) *to rāḍ-āt sang-u lag-la*  
 he-MSG cry-IMPF tell-INCP V2-PERF (see 3.4.2.3)  
 ‘He began to tell while crying.’

- (212) *tya-ne mā-la rāḍ-un saṅjit-le*  
 he-ERG I-DAT cry-COMPL tell-PERF  
 ‘He told me by crying.’

- (213) *ja-tana*                      *dar la-un / law-un ghe*  
 go-IMPF (NON-FIN) door shut-COMPL    V2-IMP (see 3.4.2.1)  
 ‘Shut the door when going out.’

Reduplicative forms of verbs as adverbs: *bās-lya-bās-lya* ‘while sitting’ *ge-lya-ge-lya* ‘immediately after going / reaching’, *mār-ta mār-ta* ‘while almost on the point of dying’, *cal-ta cal-ta* ‘while walking’, *cakh-ət-makh-ət* ‘not paying much attention (to eating) or without appetite’.

### 3.5.3 Minor types

*koṭhun* ‘from where’, *attapāryāntā* ‘by now’, *dārroj* ‘everyday’, *prātikṣaṇ* ‘every moment’, *rajros* ‘everyday’, *yāthaśākti* ‘as per one’s power’.

### 3.5.4 Semantic classification<sup>15</sup>

#### 3.5.4.1 Temporal adverbs

*aj* ‘today’, *kal* ‘yesterday’, *udya* ‘tomorrow’, *gelya wārṣi* ‘last year’, *gelya jānmi* ‘in one’s last birth’, *puḍhlya / puḍhil aṭhāwḍyat* ‘next week’, *ratrandiwās* ‘day and night’, *diwāsabhār* ‘whole day’, *ratri* ‘at night’, *sakālī* ‘in the morning’, *dupari* ‘in the afternoon’, *jewha* ‘when’, *tewha* ‘then’, *kewha* ‘when’, *tyawelī* ‘then’, *atta* ‘now’, *pārwa* ‘the day after tomorrow or before yesterday’, *jānya purvi / adhi* ‘before going’, *purvi* ‘in the past’, *saddhya / hālli / alikāḍe* ‘these days’, *turtā* ‘for the time being’, *twārit / sātwar* ‘immediately’, *ānti / šewṭi* ‘at the end’, *ekdam / akāsmat / ekaeki / āḥṇanāk* ‘all of a sudden’, *adhi / pāhilyane / prātham* ‘before everything’, *sāda / nehmi / kayam / sātāt* ‘always’, *kādhikādhi* ‘sometimes’, *ajun / ādyap* ‘till now’, *kewhaca* ‘for a long time’, *māg / nāntār* ‘afterwards’, *khelṭakheṭta* ‘while playing’, *amārāṇ* ‘till death’, *tasbhār* ‘for an hour’, *towār / topāryāntā / topāttār* ‘till then’.

#### 3.5.4.2 Locative adverbs

*ikḍe / ithe / yethe* ‘here’, *tikḍe / tethe* ‘there’, *kuṭhe / koṭhe / kukḍe* (jocular), *jikāḍe / jethe* ‘where’, *cāhukāḍe / cohikāḍe / sārwaṭrā / sāglikāḍe / ghārbbhār* ‘everywhere’, *pālikāḍe* ‘across’, *māge / paṭhimage* ‘at back’, *puḍhe / sāmōr* ‘in front’, *bajula* ‘at the side’, *wār / wārti* ‘up’, *khali / khalti* ‘below’, *mādhe* ‘between’, *at* ‘in’, *baheṭ* ‘out’, *as-pas* ‘nearby’, *dur* ‘away’, *lamb* ‘far away’, *gawala* ‘to another town’, *ghāri* ‘into one’s house’, *yethuntethun* ‘in all places’, *jithlyatithe* ‘at the right place’, *gawbhār* ‘everywhere in the town’.

### 3.5.4.3 Manner adverbs

*beśāk / belāśāk* ‘without hesitation’, *nirlājjā-pāṇe* ‘shamelessly’, *jārur* ‘certainly’, *niścit (pāṇe)* ‘surely’, *nikṣun* ‘clearly’, *sairawaira* ‘frantically’, *janunbujun / muddam* ‘intentionally’, *ase / tase / jase / kase* ‘in this / which / what way’, *kahikelya* ‘whatever you do’, *kasekarun* ‘somehow or other’, *apoap* ‘of one’s own’, *ubhyaubhya / paṭkan / ghaighaine* ‘quickly’, *phaṭkan / jhaṭkan / paṭapaṭa / saṭasat* ‘speedily’, *ṭakamaka* ‘staringly’, *gaṭagaṭa / ghaṭaghaṭa* ‘in a gulp’, *khadkhada* ‘impulsively and noisily’, *tār* ‘really’, *kewal* ‘absolutely’, *warwar* ‘apparently’, *uḍatudaṭ* ‘faintly’, *kasehi karun* ‘in any way’, *ghalunpadaun* ‘tauntingly’, *tyača marphaṭ* ‘through him’, *samaksā* ‘in person’, *aparokṣā* ‘in the absence of’, *arthaartha* ‘directly’, *janu* ‘as if’, *hetutaha / hetupurassār* ‘intentionally’, *wyarthā / phukaṭ* ‘in vain, for no reason’, *lagbhagine* ‘quickly and with enthusiasm’, *taratara* ‘quickly, speedily (disapproval)’ etc.

### 3.5.4.4 Frequentative adverbs

*warauwar / punhapunha / phirunphirun* ‘again and again’, *anekda / kitida / kityekda / kitiekda / khupda / khupwela* ‘often, many times’, *kadhikadhi / madhunmadhun / adhunmadhun* ‘sometimes, from time to time’, *dārweli* ‘every time’, *dardiwāsi* ‘everyday’, *ekda / ekwar / ekwela* ‘once’, *donda* ‘twice’, *prātiwarāsi* ‘every year’, *sālagpāṇe* ‘continuously’, *ṭappyaṭappyaṇe* ‘in phases’, *hāptyahāptyaṇe* ‘in instalments’, *sphundunsphundun* ‘with sobs’, *uḥtabasta* ‘every time’, *kadachit* ‘probably’, *kwācit / kadhitari / śatisāhamasi* ‘rarely, once in a while’ etc.

### 3.5.4.5 Degree adverbs

*kiman / tārī / kamitkāmī* ‘at least’, *kinčit / jara / kahise / thoḍe* ‘a little bit’, *kahi aūsi* ‘to some extent’, *phar / adhik / jastā / āti / phajil / bārāc / rāgāḍ / khup* ‘very much, a lot’, *pure / bās* ‘enough’, *purepur / yathasthit / purṇapāṇe / par* ‘to the full extent’, *betasbet / betasbat / jēwdhyastewdhe* ‘not more not less’, *thembethembe* ‘in small amounts’, *sāḍkun / čikkar* ‘to the highest degree’, *bādabāda* ‘in large quantities’.

### 3.5.5 Order of adverbs

As noted above word order in Marathi is comparatively free. In the case of adverbs temporal adverbs usually precede the sentence. In contrast locative adverbs are placed just before the verb. Manner adverbs usually precede the locative adverbs. Temporal adverbs keep farthest away from the verb. In short the unmarked order of adverbs is Time – Manner – Place. Some examples follow.

- (214) *rāwīwar-i*      *to*      *ghaine*      *pun-ya-la*      *ge-l-a*  
 Sunday-PP(T) he-MSG hurriedly Pune-OBL-PP go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘On Sunday he went to Pune in a hurry.’

- (215) *tya-wel-i*      *čeṇḍu*      *weg-a-ne*      *uncə uḍa-la*  
 that-time-PP(T) ball-MSG speed-OBL-PP(M) up(P) bounce-PERF  
 ‘That time the ball bounced up speedily.’
- (216) *ləhanpəṇ-i*      *mi*      *ədhirt-e-ne*      *pun-ya-la*  
 childhood-PP(T) I-FSG impatient-OBL-PP(M) Pune-OBL-PP(P)  
*ja-yč-i*      *waṭ pah-ayc-o*  
 go-PRED-FSG PHR V wait-PRED-1MSG  
 ‘In my childhood I would wait impatiently for going to Pune.’
- (217) *suṭṭi-t*      *to*      *muddamə-c*      *gawa-la*      *ge-l-a*  
 vacation-PP(T) he-MSG intentionally(M)-PART place-PP(P) go-PERF-MSG  
 ‘In the vacation he intentionally went to another place.’
- (218) *jina*      *utər-tana*      *to*      *daṅkən*      *khali*  
 staircase come down-IMPF (NON-FIN)(T) he-MSG heavily(M) down(P)  
*pəḍ-l-a*  
 fall-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘While coming down the staircase he fell down heavily.’

### 3.6 Postposition

Marathi postpositions (PP) play a much larger role in its grammar than the one played by prepositions in English. These postpositions encode grammatical relations as well as typical spatial, locational, circumstantial and other functions. They follow nouns and pronouns. Postpositions indicating grammatical relations indirectly affect verb agreement function and affect adjectives and other elements that precede the nominals. All case markers are bound forms. Most PPs assign an oblique marker to their nominal stem. (See table of oblique markers under 3.1.3.2.) However, some PP’s obviate the oblique and are directly attached. Most PP’s are indeclinable. A few of them decline for some feature of the nominal stem. The following classification indicates the properties of each group.

It is interesting to note that some PP’s are used as adjectives or adverbs in their free form. A few postpositions are employed in certain set/idiomatic phrases as in: *payane laṇḍa* ‘foot-with lame, i.e. limping; *bhukeči wel* ‘hunger-of time, i.e. time for eating’; *haḍaca gərib* ‘bone-of poor, i.e. humble’, *disayla sundər* ‘look-at good, good looking.’

### 3.6.1 Place of postpositions

Postpositions follow the gender-number markers of both nouns and pronouns and impose an oblique form (including Ø) on them. The oblique form does not change with number or gender. (For an array of oblique forms see 3.1.3.2.) It is important to note that though the postpositions are attached to the nominal elements only they induce an oblique form on almost all the elements in the noun phrase as exemplified in below. Compare (219), (220); (221), (222).

(219) *to khalca hirwa diwa*  
 that-3MSG downstairs-3MSG green-3MSG lamp-3MSG  
 ‘That green lamp downstairs.’

(220) *tya khal-cya hirw-ya diw-ya-wər*  
 that-OBL downstairs-OBL green-OBL lamp-OBL-PP  
 ‘On that green lamp downstairs.’

(221) *he ac-cə wərtəmanpətrə*  
 this today-POSS-NSG newspaper-3MSG  
 ‘This newspaper of today.’

(222) *hya ač-ča wərtəmanpətr-a-t*  
 this-OBL today-OBL newspaper-OBL-PP  
 ‘In today’s newspaper.’

### 3.6.2 Postposition types

Postpositions that assign proper theta roles such as agent, recipient, locative and possessive are called adpositions (see 3.1.3). In this grammar agent is often marked ergative and recipient is marked dative. These adpositions are called case markers. They have case value.

(a) Bound and indeclinable PPs with regular oblique markers<sup>16</sup>

*ne / nə* (SG); *ni* (PL): Agent, instrumental role:

(223) *šetkəry-a-ne jəmin naŋgər-l-i Ø*  
 farmer-OBL-ERG land-FSG plough-PERF-3FSG PRES  
 ‘The farmer ploughed the land.’

(224) *šetkər-ya-n-ni jəmin naŋgər-l-i Ø*  
 farmers-OBL-PL-ERG land plough-PERF-3FSG PRES  
 ‘Farmers ploughed the land.’



*s* (archaic), *la* / *na* (SG/PL): Dative, Recipient, Destination:

- (225) *tya-n-s kay kəl-te*  
 they-OBL-DAT what understand-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘What do they understand?’
- (226) *to lili-la mar-t-o*  
 he-3MSG Lili-OBL Ø-DAT beat-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He beats Lili.’
- (227) *lok-a-n-na kam nəko*  
 people-OBL-PL-DAT work NEG-want  
 ‘People do not want work.’

*hun*, *t*, *kəḏe* (from / than, inside, towards). These have no proper case value. They are like proper PPs.

- (228) *sap-a-hun / sap-a-n-hun nag jasta*  
 snake-MSG-OBL-PP / snakes-OBL-PL-PP cobra (SG/PL) more  
*wišari əs-t-o / əs-t-at*  
 poisonous Be-IMP-3MSG / Be-IMP-3MPL  
 ‘A cobra is more poisonous than a snake / Cobras are more poisonous than snakes.’
- (229) *šal-e-t mul-e šik-t-at*  
 school-OBL-PP child-N-PL learn-IMP-3NPL  
 ‘Children learn in school.’
- (230) *to šal-e-kəḏe ge-l-a*  
 he-3MSG school-OBL-PP go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He went towards the school.’

(b) A special feature of postpositions listed here is that they do not distinguish between singular and plural, and optionally allow a marker *c* after the oblique as shown in (231). This insertion is not possible with the PPs in (a), which relate to proper grammatical case markings. The only exception is *hun*, which is not a proper case marker anyway.

*paši* ‘near’

- (231) *šal-e-paši / šal-e-ča-paši ek bekri ahe*  
 school-OBL-PP / school-OBL-COBL-PP one bakery Be-PRES  
 ‘There is a bakery near the school.’

*waṭe* ‘through’ old fashioned

- (232) *tya-ča tonḍ-a-waṭe he šabdā baher paḍ-l-e*  
 he-OBL-COBL mouth-OBL-PP these word-M-PL out fall-PERF-3MPL  
 ‘These words came out from his mouth.’

*tun* ‘through, from’

- (233) *to šal-e-tun ghār-i a-l-a*  
 He-MSG school-OBL-PP home-LOC come-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He came home from school.’

*kəḍun* ‘from, through’ / *kərwi* ‘through’

- (234) *ai-kəḍun pəis-e a-l-e*  
 mother-PP money-MPL come-PERF-3MPL  
 ‘Money came from Mother.’

*pasun* ‘from’

- (235) *kuṭr-ya-n-pasun sawədh rəha*  
 dogs-OBL-PL-PP PHR V beware-IMP  
 ‘Beware of dogs.’

*dware* ‘through’ formal and old fashioned

- (236) *poṣṭ-a-dware pəise paṭh-wa*  
 post-OBL-PP money send-IMP  
 ‘Send the money through Post.’

*hatun* ‘through’

- (237) *tya-ne mul-a-ča-hatun he paṭhəwi-l-e*  
 he-ERG son-OBL-C-OBL-PP these/this-NSG send-PERF-PL/SG  
 ‘This was sent by him through his son.’

*muḷe* ‘because of’

- (238) *gərdi-muḷe amha-la at jata yeina*  
 crowd-PP we OBL-DAT in go-IMPF(NON-FIN) V2 PAST HAB-NEG  
 ‘We could not go in because of the crowd.’

*karta / kərta / khatər* ‘for’

- (239) *kutumb-a-karta ti-ne kəṣṭə ke-l-e*  
 Family-OBL-PP she-ERG PHR V work hard-PERF-3MPL  
 ‘She worked hard for the family.’

*khatər / stəwə* ‘for’

- (240) *deš-a-khatər / deš-a-stəwə he kam kər-a*  
 nation-OBL-PP this-NSG work-NSG do-IMP-2PL  
 ‘Do this work for the nation.’

*šiway / wacun / kherij / wina* ‘without’, *wina* is formal

- (241) *pəiš-a-šiway / pəiš-a-wacun / pəiš-a-kherij kahi khərə nahi*  
 money-OBL-PP anything true NEG  
 ‘No way without money.’

*bəddəl* ‘about, for’

- (242) *tumh-a-la ya jag-e-bəddəl kahi mahit ahe*  
 you(HON)-OBL-DAT this place-OBL-PP any known Be-PRES  
 ‘What do you know about this place?’

*əiwəji* ‘instead of’

- (243) *čəha-əiwəji kəphi cal-el?*  
 tea-PP coffee suffice-FUT  
 ‘Would coffee do instead of tea?’

*jagi* ‘in place of’

- (244) *majh-ya jag-i tu əs-ayla həw-e hot-e-s*  
 my-OBL place-PP you-ERG Be-DESI want-N V2 Be-PAST-N-2SG  
 (See 3.4.2.3)  
 ‘(I) wish you were there in my place.’

*səkət / səhə* (formal) ‘along with, including’

- (245) *tya-ne waḍ-ya-səkət / waḍ-ya-səhə jəmin wik-l-i*  
 he-ERG house-OBL-PP land-3FSG sell-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘He sold the land along with the house.’  
 (246) *sər-səkət / sər-w-a-n-kəḍun pac rupəye ghy-a*  
 all-PP / all-OBL-PL-PP five rupees take-IMP-2PL  
 ‘Take five rupees from each and every.’

*pekša* ‘than’

- (247) *šaḷ-e-pekša kələj bərə*  
 school-OBL-PP college better  
 ‘College is better than school.’

*pəryəntə* / *pəttər* (colloquial) ‘to the point, till the time’

- (248) *tya-la śaḷ-e-pəryəntə soḍun ye*  
 he-DAT school-OBL-PP leave-COMPL V-IMP (see 3.4.2.1)  
 ‘Accompany him to the school.’

*saṭhi* ‘for’

- (249) *mul-a-n-saṭhi khau aṇ*  
 child-OBL-PL-PP sweets bring-IMP  
 ‘Bring sweets for children.’

(Some PPs such as *saṭhi* ‘for’, *pəryəntə* ‘to the point’ and *wacun* ‘without’ have extended uses. They can be attached to (i) the predictive (*ayc*), (ii) infinitive (*ṇ*), or (iii) perfective (*l*) as in (i) *jayčyasaṭhi* ‘for going’, (ii) *khelṇyasaṭhi* ‘for playing’, (iii) *gelyawacun* ‘without going’ etc.)

(c) Bound declinable with regular oblique markers

The adposition *c* denotes a possessive relation. It is akin to a case marker but takes the gender and number of the possessed noun (see (e)). Notice that some nouns take a Ø oblique marker (see 3.1.3.2).

*c* ‘of’: *ca* ‘MSG’, *či* ‘FSG’, *ce* / *cə* ‘NSG’; and *ce* / *čya* / *či* ‘M / F / N PL’<sup>17</sup>

- (250) *ghər-a-či bhintə*  
 house-OBL-PP-FSG wall-FSG  
 ‘the wall of the house.’
- (251) *ghər-a-c-a dərwaḷa*  
 house-OBL-PP-MSG door-MSG  
 ‘the door of the house.’
- (252) *ghər-a-c-e čhəppər*  
 house-OBL-PP-NSG roof-NSG  
 ‘the roof of the house.’
- (253) *ghər-a-čya bhinti*  
 house-OBL-PP-NPL walls-NPL  
 ‘the walls of the house.’

*jogət* ‘suited to’: *jogta* ‘MSG’, *jogti* ‘FSG’, *jogte* / *-tə* ‘NSG’, *jogte* ‘MPL’, *jogtya* ‘FPL’, *jogti* ‘NPL’

- (254) *mən-a-jogt-a nəwra*  
 mind-OBL-PP-MSG husband-MSG  
 ‘husband suited to mind (= as one would like to have)’

Note that in a chain of possessive NPs, the possessive on the last NP causes the earlier possessives to be oblique as exemplified below.

- (255) *šam-č-i*                      *aži*  
 Sham-POSS-FSG grandmother-FSG  
 ‘Sham’s grandmother.’
- (256) *aži-č-i*                                      *šeti*  
 Grandmother-POSS-FSG farm land-FSG  
 ‘grandmother’s farm land.’
- (257) *šam-čy-a*                      *mu-la-ča*                      *aži-č-i*                      *šeti*  
 Sham-POSS OBL son-OBL-POSS OBL grandmother-POSS-SG land-FSG  
 ‘Sham’s son’s grandmother’s land.’

The rule is obviated if the pre-modifiers are independent. That is, without modifying each other, they directly and independently modify the head noun:

- (258) *šam-č-i*                      *wəhi*  
 Sham-POSS-FSG notebook-FSG  
 ‘Sham’s notebook.’
- (259) *kam-a-č-i*                                      *wəhi*  
 work-OBL-POSS-FSG notebook-FSG  
 ‘Notebook used for work.’
- (260) *šam-č-i*                      *kam-a-č-i*                      *wəhi*  
 Sham-POSS-FSG work-OBL-POSS-FSG notebook-FSG  
 ‘Sham’s notebook used for work.’

Compare (260) with

- (261) *šam-č-ya*                      *kam-a-č-i*                      *wəhi*  
 Sham-POSS-OBL work-OBL-POSS-FSG notebook-FSG  
 ‘The notebook recording Sham’s work.’

in which *šamčya* modifies *kam* and *kamači* modifies *wəhi*.

(d) Bound, indeclinable and without oblique markers

*e*: (by, agentive)

This adposition is used in poetry only and is attached only to a singular noun:

- (262) *ata*    *wišwatmæk-e*                                      *dew-e*,    *yeŋ-e*  
 now ‘one who pervades the universe’-AGN God-AGN this-AGN  
*wagyadny-e*                                      *toš-awe*  
 sacred offering of words-AGN be pleased-DESI

‘May the all pervading divine spirit be pleased by this sacred offering of words.’ (Dnyaneshwar)

*un* ‘from, through’ singular nouns

Its use is restricted to a few words and it requires a singular noun:

- (263) *mə-la te tuj̥h-ya tonḍ-un əik-ayce ahe*  
 I-DAT that-NSG your-OBL mouth-PP hear-PRED-3MSG Be-PRES  
 ‘I want to hear it from your mouth.’

*i* ‘in, to, at’

It is attached to a consonantal ending noun:

- (264) *to ratr-i ghər-i ge-l-a*  
 he-MSG night-PP(T) home-PP(P) go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He went home at night.’

*bhər* ‘full, whole’

- (265) *to diwās-bhər rab-t-o*  
 he(3MSG) day-PP work hard-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He works hard the whole day.’

(e) Bound, declinable and without oblique marker *c* (belonging to): *ca* (MSG), *či* (FSG), *ce* / *cə* (NSG) (see (c))

The marker *c* discussed in (c) takes an oblique marker and has a slightly different meaning:

- (266) *ghər-c-a maṇus*  
 house-PP-MSG man-MSG  
 ‘man belonging to the house.’

Compare:

- (267) *hat-c-ə kam*  
 hand-PP-NSG work-3MSG  
 ‘work in hand.’
- (268) *hat-a-c-e kam*  
 hand-OBL-PP-NSG work-NSG  
 ‘Hand-work.’
- (269) *mən-c-a rag*  
 mind-PP-MSG anger-MSG  
 ‘anger inside the mind.’

Compare this with

- (270) *mən-a-c-a*                      *moṭhepəṇa*  
 mind-OBL-PP-MSG    generosity-MSG  
 ‘generosity of mind.’

N1-c N2 suggests that N2 indicates an integral part of N1; N2 comes from within N1. On the other hand N1-OBL-c N2 somehow suggests that N2 indicates something external that belongs to N1; N2 is an extension of N1 or an addition to N1. Compare:

- (271) *poṭ-c-ə*                      *por*  
 stomach-PP-NSG    child  
 ‘a child of one’s own blood.’
- (272) *moṭh-ya poṭ-a-c-ə*                      *por*  
 fat-OBL    stomach-OBL-PP-NSG    child  
 ‘a child with a fat belly’

The postpositions in (f), (g) and (h) also occur as free forms. For example those in (f) are used as adverbs and those in (g) function as adjectives.

(f) Free, indeclinable with oblique markers

PPs in (f) form a large group. Below we note some major and frequently used postpositions. They are attached to both singular and plural nouns. They can optionally be preceded by the marker *c*.

*nəjik* / *šejari* ‘near’

- (273) *ghər-a-šejari* / *ghər-a-ča-šejari*      *ek bag*      *ahe*  
 house-OBL-PP/ house-OBL-COBL-PP    a    garden    Be-PRES  
 ‘There is a garden near the house.’

*səmor* / *puḍhe* (‘in front of’)

- (274) *ghər-a-puḍhe* / *ghər-a-səmor*      *əṅgəṇ*      *ahe*  
 house-OBL-PP / house-OBL-PP    courtyard    Be-PRES  
 ‘There is a yard in front of the house.’

Other postpositions of this type:

*pəlikəḍe* ‘across, the other side’, *əlikəḍe* ‘this side’, *məḍhun* ‘in the middle of’, *karṇane* / *karṇa stəwə* / *prityərthə* / *nimittə* ‘on the occasion of, for the sake of’ *wiṣayi* / *səmbəndhi* ‘about’, *wyətirikṭə* ‘excluding, other than’, *atun* ‘from inside’, *pəiki* ‘out of’, *prəmaṇe* ‘like’, *wər* ‘on’, *wərun* ‘over above’, *waṭe* ‘through’, *khali*

'below, underneath', *wārti* 'above', *adhi* / *agodār* / *purwi* 'before', *mādhe* / *mādhye* 'in the midst', *at* 'in', *baheṛ* 'out', *aḍ* 'behind', *śewṭi* / *ānti* 'at the end'; *dekhāt* 'in front', *prāmaṇe* 'like, as'.

(g) Free, declinable and with oblique markers

These postpositions may follow either a singular or a plural noun. They are inflected for gender and number, agreeing with the gender and number of the head noun as shown in the first example. They are like the PPs under (f): *sarkha* (MSG) 'like'.

- (275) *ti mā-la bāhiṇ-i-sarkh-i ahe*  
 she-FSG I-DAT sister-OBL-PP-FSG Be-PRES  
 'She is like a sister to me.'
- (276) *tya mā-la bāhiṇ-i-n-sarkhya ahe-t*  
 they-F-HON-PL I-DAT sister-PL-OBL-PL-PP Be-PRES-PL  
 'They are like my sisters to me.'

Other postpositions of this type: *purta* 'only for', *nirāḷa* 'different', *wegḷa* 'different'.

(h) Free, indeclinable and without oblique marker

Certain nouns do not take oblique markers before these postpositions.

*wār* 'on'

- (277) *sarkar-wār ṭika*  
 government-PP criticism  
 'criticism of the government'

*puḍhe* 'in front of'

- (278) *ha prāśṇa dārbar-puḍhe ṭhew-a*  
 this problem kingly-court-PP put-IMP-2PL  
 'Put this problem before the royal court.'

The other nouns in this category are: *ḍāktār* 'doctor', *parlāment* 'parliament'.

Note: These words also do not take oblique markers when followed by the declinable postpositions in group (g) also, as exemplified below:

- (279) *sarkar-sarkh-a prāčār*  
 government-PP-MSG propaganda-MSG  
 'propoganda like the government'

The gender number agreement is with the following noun as expected.



### 3.6.3 Compound postpositions

There are a few compound postpositions: *magla* / *magil* ‘at the back, last’, *magca* ‘of the back’, *koṭhpasun* ‘from where’, *adhipasun* / *purwipasun* ‘from the earlier time’, *waṭca* ‘in place of’. An interesting case is that of *kəḍe* + *la* = *kəḍela*. This *la* can be traced back to the verb *lag* ‘touch’:

- (280) *rəst-ya-ča kəḍ-e lag-un*  
 road-OBL-COBL side-PP touch-COMPL  
 ‘touching the side of the road.’

- (281) *rəst-ya-lag-un*  
 road-OBL-touch-COMPL  
 ‘touching the road.’

- (282) *rəst-ya-lagi*  
 road-OBL-PP  
 ‘along the road.’

- (283) *rəst-ya-la*  
 road-OBL-PP  
 ‘along the road.’

## 3.7 Conjunction

Marathi has both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. In addition there are adsententials that relate a sentence to the discourse.

### 3.7.1 Coordinating conjunctions

The major coordinator is *aṇi* ‘and’, with variants such as *ən* / *n* / *aṇik* / *aṇkhi* and *wə*. The last one has its origin in Urdu. The alternative and adversative coordinators are *kiuwwa* / *əṭhwa* ‘or’ and *pəṇ* ‘but’ with variants such as *wa*, *pəṛəntu*, *təṭhapi*. The last one is formal and is used in the sense of ‘however’ as in (284). Other linking particles are *mhəṇun*, *yakərita*, *tewha* ‘for this reason, therefore’ all indicating a cause or reason (for an account of coordination see Chapter 8).

- (284) *tap utər-la. təṭhapi kalji ghy-ayla həw-i*  
 fever come down-PERF however care-FSG take-DESI want-FSG  
 ‘The fever has come down, however, it is necessary to take care.’

- (285) *majh-ya-kāḍe paise nā-white mhāṇun mi cal-āt*  
 my-OBL-PP money NEG-be-PAST so I-MSG walk-IMPF  
*a-l-o*  
 come-PERF-1MSG  
 ‘I had no money; so I came walking.’

*tewha* ‘therefore’

- (286) *tu-la sang-un-hi tu bol-la*  
 you-DAT tell-COMPL-PART you-MSG speak-PERF-3MSG  
*n-ahi-s tewha tu lābaḍ ahe-s*  
 NEG-Be-PRES-2SG therefore you-SG cunning Be-PRES-2SG  
 ‘Even when you were told you did not speak. Therefore you are cunning.’

The conjunction *mhāṇun* has a special use. Preceded by an interrogative pronoun it expresses a strong negation as in (287):

- (287) *mi kay mhāṇun ja-in*  
 I what therefore go-FUT  
 ‘Why should I go? (= I am not going to go at all).’

Notice that there is no change in the intonation.

### 3.7.2 Subordinating conjunctions

The main subordinator is *ki* ‘that / so’. It acts like a complementizer. Other subordinators such as *ase / əsə* ‘that’, *karāṇ, ka ki* ‘because’, *mhāṇun* ‘so that’, *sābāb* ‘hence’, *jār...tār* ‘if... then’ have been explained in Chapter 7.

### 3.7.3 Adsententials

Adsententials relate a sentence to the discourse. Sometimes they signal a new turn in the discourse. Marathi has quite a few adsententials. Some of these are noted below.

*thoḍkyat* ‘in short’

- (288) *mi tila wičar-le, ti-ča bhaw-a-la wičar-le,*  
 I-ERG she-DAT ask-PERF she-COBL brother-OBL-DAT ask-PERF,  
*ti-ča bāhiṇ-i-la wičarle. ti-ča aji-la dekhil*  
 she-COBL sister-OBL-DAT ask-PERF she-COBL grandmother-DAT also

*wiĉar-le thoḍkyat ti-ĉa għar-ĉa sər-w-a-n-na wiĉar-le*  
 ask-PERF in short, she-COBL house-COBL all-OBL-PL-DAT ask-PERF  
 ‘I asked her, I asked her brother, I asked her sister. Not only that, (I) asked her grandmother also. In short, (I) asked all the persons in her house.’

Common adsententials: *kədaĉit* ‘probably’, *šəkyəto* ‘as far as possible’, *wəstutəha* ‘in fact’, *nəkkic* ‘certainly’, *sudəiwane* ‘fortunately’, *nissəušəy* ‘undoubtedly’, *ewitewi* ‘in any case’, *kəsehikərun* ‘under all conditions’, *yənəkənəprəkəreṇ* ‘in every possible way’, *ugac* ‘for no reason’, *ənniyətha* ‘otherwise’, *mukaṭyanə* ‘without making any noise / fuss’, *bərya bolanə* ‘as long as the going is good’, *udahəṇəṇəṛthə* ‘for example’, *ughəḍ ughəḍ / ughəḍpəṇe* ‘obviously’, *niščit / nəkki / khəĉit / khatrinə* ‘certainly’, *bəhudha / bəhutkərun* ‘most probably or usually’, *apatətəha* ‘evidently’, *bešək / beləšək* ‘without any hesitation’, *matrə* ‘however, although however’, *tewha / təri / tər* ‘considering all this’, *he sərva / sarə* ‘all this’, *tətpəryə* ‘in conclusion’, *uləṭ* ‘on the contrary’, *šiway / anḵhi mhəṇje / pərət* ‘in addition’, *khəṛə pahta* ‘in fact’, *ətəwə / təsmat* ‘for that reason’ (archaic and formal), *səbəb* (subdialectal), *yaupər* ‘after all this’, *kəsəy* ‘It is like this...’ etc.

Some of these adsententials could be replaced by what are called Commentary Sentences.

- (289) *kədaĉit to ye-il > to ye-il əsa səmbhəw ahe*  
 probably he come-FUT > he come-FUT like probability Be-PRES  
 ‘Probably he will come’ > ‘It is probable that he will come.’

### 3.8 Particles

Particles are indeclinable entities. They can be added to any word to enhance its significance or stress its importance. They are called pure postpositions in traditional grammars.

#### 3.8.1 Assertive particles

*c* ‘emphatic’:

- (290) *to għar-i-c əs-to*  
 he-MSG home-PP-PART EMPH stay-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He stays home – doesn’t go out?’
- (291) *to-c għar-i jat-o*  
 he-MSG-PART EMPH home-PP go-IMP-MSG  
 ‘He alone goes home.’

*matrə* ‘alone, somehow or other, as for’:

- (292) *lili matrə bag-et ja-te.*  
 Lili-FSG PART ASSR garden-PP go-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘As for Lili she goes to / into the garden.’

*phəktə* ‘only’

- (293) *mə-la phəktə saṅg*  
 I-DAT only tell-IMP  
 ‘Tell me alone.’

*suddha / pəṇ / hi / dekhil* ‘also’ (expressing some surprise)

- (294) *to dekhil hār-l-a*  
 he also lose-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He also lost.’

*bhər* ‘whole’ (used only after a singular noun)

- (295) *diwəs-bhər ti wac-ət hoti.*  
 day-PART ASSR she-FSG read-ASSR Be-PAST  
 ‘She was reading the whole day.’

*na / kinəi*: *kinəi* is more colloquial. This particle has multiple uses

i. (If you ask me):

- (296) *tya-la na amba awəḍ-t-o.*  
 he-DAT PART ASSR mango-MSG like-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘(If you ask me, as for him), he likes mangoes.’

ii. (Tag particle): (See Questions in Chapter 9.)

- (297) *to ye-ṇar ahe, (ho) na?*  
 he come-PROSP Be-PRES (yes-PART) TAG PART  
 ‘He is coming, isn’t he?’

*ho* ‘yes’ (Positive answer to a question):

- (298) *tu roj ye-to-s? – ho.*  
 you-2SGM everyday come-PRES-2SG – Yes-ASSR PART  
 ‘Do you come everyday?’ ‘Yes.’

*bəṛə / ha / hə* (endorsement): Used after a verb to inform the addressee in a pleasant way

- (299) *to a-la bəṛə / ha / hə*  
 he come-PERF ASSR PART  
 ‘He has come, – don’t worry / are you satisfied now? / be relaxed.’

*ki*: (persuasion): Used after a verb to inform critically along with an address term for persuasion as in:

(300) *ja ki re*  
go-IMP ASSR PART VOC  
'Please go.'

(301) *mi ye-to ki*  
I come-IMPF ASSR PART  
'I come also.'

*tər* (of course, certainly)

(302) *tu yešil? – yein tər / ho tər!*  
you come-FUT – come-FUT ASSR PART / ASSR PART ASSR PART  
'Are you coming?' '– of course I am / Yes, of course!'

### 3.8.2 Intensifiers

Some basic adverbs act as intensifiers when they precede an adjective (see 4.6 for other intensifiers).

*phar* 'very much':

(303) *to phar uncə ahe*  
he very tall Be-PRES  
'He is very tall.'

*əgdi* ('very much, absolutely'):

(304) *tya bai əgdi weḍya ahe-t*  
she-FHON-PL woman INTSF foolish Be-PRES-3PL  
'That lady is very foolish.'

*čikar / čikkar / khəccun / jam* ('very much' – usually with a collective noun):

(305) *səbh-e-la čikar gərđi hoti*  
meeting-OBL-PP INTSF crowd-FSG Be-PAST  
'There was a huge crowd for the meeting.'

*ṭhar* ('completely, totally'):

(306) *ha mulga ṭhar bəhira ahe*  
this boy completely deaf Be-PRES  
'This boy is completely deaf.'

*bhəyāṅkər* (very much), as in *bhəyāṅkər čikku* ‘extremely miserly.’  
*čəkkə* (completely), as in *čəkkə bawḷəṭ* ‘completely shabby.’  
*jam* (extremely), as in *jam ragiṭ* ‘extremely hot-tempered.’  
*dhadantə* (clearly), as in *dhadantə khoṭe* ‘clearly untrue.’  
*ek* (alone, of all), as in *to ek gaḍhəw ahe* ‘He is a fool alone.’  
*muḷic* (at all) It is used with a negative as in the following sentence.

- (307) *tya-la he muḷic saṅgu nəkos*  
 he-DAT this at all tell-IMP NEG  
 ‘Don’t tell him this at all.’

For formation of intensifiers see 4.6.

### 3.9 Interjections

Interjections known as *kewəl prayogi awyāye* items used absolutely as particles or *udgarwačhi awyāye* in Marathi grammars are sudden or spontaneous expressions that relate to various emotions of the speaker. Naturally their classification is notional:

Interjection of happiness, joy, pleasure: *wa, wahwa, əha, oho, əhaha, wau*.  
 Interjection of sorrow, pain etc.: *u, hay, ərere, əyai, aigə, əgəgə, əgai, šiwəšiwa, əre dewa, oy*.  
 Interjection of surprise, wonder, awe: *əbəbə, ərečča, čamari, bapre, oho, (əyya / əgəbai: used by women only)*.  
 Interjection of endorsement, agreement: *ṭhik, bəṛə, əčča, hə, hu, bərobəṛ*.  
 Interjection of admiration: *bhəle, šabas, wahwa, məstə*.  
 Interjection of contempt: *həṭ, pəḷ, čhət, hatteri, thu / thut, čhi, čhəṭ, čhičhi*.  
 Interjection of shyness: *iššə, i, cəl / cəla, nəibəi* (all used by women only).  
 Interjection of rebuke: *šu, šuk*.  
 Interjection of anger or embarrassment: *ča / čayla / čamari, salə*.

Vocatives	Singular	Plural
M / N	<i>əre / re, e, ba</i>	M / F / N <i>əho / o / ho</i>
F	<i>əgə / gə, e</i>	

The vocative *he* is always followed by a noun: *he raḷa* (Oh king!), *e wəsənta* ‘Aye / hey Vasant!’

## Notes

1. The concept of parts of speech was borrowed from English grammar. Tarkhadkar (1836) and Agarkar (1888) modeled Marathi grammars on the English grammars then available. Damle (1911) also accepts this framework although he often criticizes them for blindly following the English model. None of the grammarians, for example, talk about the difference between prepositions in English and postpositions in Marathi. In case of tenses also English grammar was accepted as a model. Inflection and derivation – two important word-processes however were discussed in the model of Sanskrit grammar. It is interesting to note that neither Panini nor Bhartruhari ever talk about a separate formal category of adverb.
2. Case identifies syntactic relations between words. In Sanskrit cases were labeled by numbers i.e. *Prathama*, *Dwitiya*, *Tritiya* (First case, Second case, Third case) etc. These correlate with the Latin Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental etc. The first Marathi grammarian Tarkhadkar (1836) adopted this model. The tradition is continued in Marathi grammars written in Marathi. However, Marathi grammars written in English follow the Latin model.
3. In old Marathi – between 12 to 16th century, *o* and *u* were used as markers of nominative / direct case. Instances of this are found in the religious poetry. The marker *u* may be the result of Dravidian influence.
4. Many grammarians call it nasalization of vowels but that was a feature of a particular prestigious subdialect. In modern Marathi the use of the alveolar nasal *n* is very clear. *n* is not assimilated: *gharanpaṣi* ‘near the houses’, *čimnyankəḍe* ‘towards the sparrows’, *səntanṭhayi* ‘in the saints’. It is interesting to note that Damle ([1911]1970) considers this prestigious subdialect when he says that in words such as *kā* ‘why’, *hē* ‘this’, *gəhū* ‘wheat’, the final vowels are nasalized. Vowels are nasalized before postpositions in words such as *tyāla*, *amhāla* and in all plural nouns before postpositions as in *ghodyāca* ‘of horses’, *gaḍyāca* ‘of carriages’. For him *wedāt* ‘in the Vedas’ and *wedantā* ‘a branch of philosophy’ are distinct in meaning and pronunciation. He disapproves pronunciations such as *ghodyanca* ‘of horses’, *tyanla* ‘them’ used in certain subdialects. For him they would pronounce the word for ‘in the Vedas’ as *wedant*. Damle fails to see that after a consonant-ending masculine, plural *an* optionally becomes *a* and that *wedantā* ‘a branch of philosophy’, ends in *a* not *t*. In any case, modern Marathi prefers the nasal *n* to a nasalized vowel against the wishes of certain earlier grammarians.
5. The pronominal forms are not conditioned the same way as the nominal forms. For example the pronominal forms *majha* ‘my’, *tujha* ‘your’, *jyaca* ‘whose’, *tumca* ‘your’, *apla* ‘our’, take singular masculine oblique *-ya* including *tica* ‘her’. It becomes *tičakəḍle* in modern Marathi (see 2.6.2.1). In short *majha* etc. normally behaves like the nominal *amba* ‘mango’ but one can find it behaving like *šāla* ‘school’ which takes the oblique marker *e* as in *majhekəḍe*, *tujhekəḍe* etc.
6. Some archaic forms of personal pronouns are used in poetry: *mya* ‘I’, *majasi* ‘to me’, *majəla* ‘to me’, *majəhun* ‘from me’, *amhate* ‘to us’, *mate* ‘to me’, *məmə* ‘my’ (borrowing from Sanskrit), *twa* ‘you’, *tujasi* ‘to you’, *tute* ‘to you’, *tujəhun* ‘from you’, *tumhate* ‘to you’, *təwə* ‘your’ (borrowing from Sanskrit), *apuliya* ‘our’, *tyasi* ‘to him’, *tyajəla* ‘to him’, *tyate* ‘to him’, *tiši* ‘to her’, *tijəla* ‘to her’, *tijəhun* ‘from her’, *tite* ‘to her’, *tit* ‘in her’ etc.
7. The role of pronouns in modifying position was a much debated topic at one time. Godbole (1867) and Kher (1895) classify them as adjectives – pronominal adjectives. Damle ([1911]1970) on the other hand insists that they are pronouns when they are in the direct case but adjectives when they are in the oblique case. Tarkhadkar (1836) calls both the types pronouns.

Damle's claim that in a sentence such as

- (1) *mi gārib hi uṭhaṭhew kəṣ-a-s kər-u*  
 I poor this-3FSG effort-3FSG what-OBL-DAT do-IMP  
 'Why should I take (all) this trouble?'

the head-word (*pradhanpuruṣa*) is *mi*, not *gārib* is doubtful. He does not discuss the status of *hi*.

8. The premodifying position of adjectives is the unmarked case. In poetry one finds ample examples of adjectives in the postmodifying position.

- (2) *ghaḍ-e bhogə-ṇe pap te kərmə khoṭe*  
 happen-ARC PRES suffer-INF sin-3NSG that doing-3NSGN false-NSG-ADJ  
*nə ho-ta mən-a sarikhe dukkhə moṭhe*  
 NEG Be-IMPF(NON-FIN) mind-OBL like(PP) sorrow-NSG-N great-NSG-ADJ  
 'If things do not occur according to one's mind he has to bear the sin which is one's false action and which is great sorrow' (Ramdas)
- (3) *səntə sumən-e uttər-e mrudu rəsāl mādḥure*  
 Saint N as ADJ flower-PL N word-PL N delicate ADJ juicy ADJ sweet-PL ADJ  
 'The words of saints (are) like delicate juicy (=full of honey) sweet flowers' (Tukaram)
- (4) *puḷəṇ-i-t təkə-le mathe śrantə ədhirə*  
 beach-OBL-PP rest-PERF head-3NSG N tired ADJ restless ADJ  
 'I rested (my) tired, restless head on the beach.' (Shirwadkar V. V.)

9. Many terms such as explicator compound verbs, serial compound verbs, complex predicates have been currently used to describe this set of aspectuals i.e. the intensifiers. (See Hook 1974; Masica 1991; Butt 1995; Pandharipande 1997; Pardeshi 2001.) We are using the term compound verb to denote a much wider class as envisioned in Damle. Damle ([1911]1970) calls them '*sāiyuktā kriyapāde*'. Raeside (1958) calls them verbal CVs as opposed to normal CVs as in *bhākṣəṇ kər* 'devour'.

10. It is possible to get ambiguity in interpreting V2 as in:

- (5) *to jeun bəs-la*  
 He eat-COMPL sit / V2-PERF  
 may mean 'He ate and sat' or 'He finished eating'.

11. For a more detailed and exhaustive treatment of tense, aspect and mood in Marathi, see Dhongde (1984).

12. Damle ([1911]1970) sees a relation between desiderative *aw* and predictive *-ayc*. But it seems that *-ayc* is more related to Inceptive *-u*.

- (6) *mi ja-u / jay-la lag-lo*  
 I go-INCP / COMPL V2 PER-1MSG  
 'I began to go.'

The form *jawāyas* in this sentence is possible but not in use especially in speech. In,

- (a) *u + oblique + postposition adhi u+ya+adhi*  
 (b) *ayc + oblique + postposition adhi ayc+ya+adhi*  
 (c) *aw + oblique + postposition adhi aw+ya+adhi*  
 (b) is more related to (a) than to (c).



13. Kiparsky (1970) uses the notions – factive and non-factive.
14. Damle ([1911]1970) gives three classes of adverbs *siddhā* (basic), *sadhit* (derived) and *st-hanik* (other parts of speech that are used as adverbs). Damle however goes back to Sanskrit derivation; we do not. Thus for example, for Damle *ewhana* ‘by now’ is a derived adverb; for us it is a basic adverb.
15. It is possible to increase the number of these types. For example, adverbs such as *dukkhane* (in sorrow), *ajarpəṇamuḷe* (because of ill health) etc. are called by some grammarians, adverbs of reason. Damle ([1911]1970) considers *jəwəḷ* and *səmiṭ* ‘near’ adverbs of speed. Adverbs such as *katrine* ‘with scissors’, *cakune* ‘with a knife’ could be called Instrumental adverbs. If *mumbai-hun* ‘from Mumbai’ is called a source adverb, there is no reason to prevent calling *punyala* ‘to Pune’ a destination adverb. For adverbs that have modal meanings (see 3.7.3).
16. In the paradigms the bound postpositions – *la*, *ne*, *kəḍun* etc. – are added to the pronouns and one can see the morphophonemic changes that occur. Some grammarians therefore treat *mə-* / *ma-*, *amha-*, *tumha-*, *tya-* as ‘allomorphs’. Addition of other postpositions gives the following different allomorphs: *am-* (as in *amca* ‘our’), *tum-* (as in *tumči* ‘your’). *ma* (as in *majha* ‘my’). The pronoun *apəṇ* has an allomorph *ap-* (as in *apla* ‘our’).
17. An inflected postposition is a rare thing especially in European languages. Traditional Marathi grammarians like Krushnashastri Chiplunkar (1861–1875), Godbole (1867) do not consider *c* a case-marker. For them it is an adjective forming suffix. Krishnashastri traces *c* back to Sanskrit *-iyə* (as in *peyə* ‘that which can be drunk’). Sanskrit *-iyə* becomes *-ijj* in Prakrit (*peyə* > *pejjə*). Bhandarkar R. G. (1905) however argues that the Sanskrit genitive *-syə* becomes *-ccə* in Prakrit from which Marathi derives *-c*. Damle ([1911]1970) discusses extensively both the views. In words such as *mulača* ‘of son’, *ča* is intentionally represented as *čya* / *cya* following the orthographic representation to show the oblique marker, though in actual pronunciation it is *ča* all the time and therefore represented by *ča* elsewhere.

*c* can be followed by all case-markers and also by other postpositions:

- (7) *majha-cya-ne*,                      *udya-cya-la*,  
 I-POSS OBL-COBL-ERG      tomorrow-COBL-DAT  
 ‘by me’                              ‘for tomorrow’  
*aplya-cya-ne*  
 I (respect) OBL-COBL-ERG  
 ‘by me’  
*tya-cya-hun*  
 he-POSS-COBL-ABL  
 ‘by him’



## CHAPTER 4

# Word formation

### 4.0 Formation of words

Word formation is a very productive process in Marathi. Word-forming derivational affixes precede inflectional affixes. Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic affixes are used mostly with nouns. There are very few verb-forming derivational affixes.

Words may be formed by prefixation, suffixation, or reduplication. All these are derivational processes. They employ affixes from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic or simply native formatives. These processes may instill a category change. They will be described below. The affixes are separated from the head components.

### 4.1 Noun formation

#### 4.1.1 Prefixation

##### 4.1.1.1 *Productive processes and borrowing*

Many Sanskrit words that are derived in Sanskrit by prefixation are borrowed in Marathi. That does not mean that their formation process is Marathi. The following nouns are some examples. In them the prefixes are underlined:

adhikar ‘authority’, anubhāw ‘experience’, apman ‘insult’, abhiman ‘pride’, adhar ‘support’, utpannā ‘production’, durguṇ ‘vice’, nigrahā ‘determination’, parakram ‘brave deed’, pariśram ‘efforts’, pratidnya ‘vow’, widhan ‘statement’, santap ‘anger’.

Similarly Perso-Arabic words that are derived in Persian or Arabic are borrowed in Marathi. They do not share any word-formation process of Marathi. Some examples:

bardasta / bardastā ‘respectful treatment’, lačari ‘servility’, sarkar ‘ruler, government’.

Below we consider prefixation processes that are productive. Where the roots are used only in Sanskrit or Persian/Arabic, we have marked the origins. However if there is a derivative process such as V>ADJ>N we have not given the full derivation of the source language. If the source language root is assimilated in Marathi, we have not traced its origin.

#### 4.1.1.2 Prefixation: Sanskrit

The following prefixes from Sanskrit are productively used in forming nouns in Marathi:

*a-*: ‘absence, lack or negation’

*a-sāhakar* ‘non-cooperation’, *a-niti* ‘immorality’, *a-samadhan* ‘dissatisfaction’ (SK).

*a-*: ‘not, un-, without’

*a-adar* ‘disrespect’ (SK), *a-awāṣyak* ‘unnecessary’.

*ant-*: ‘inside, in’

*ant-dnyan* ‘inner knowledge’ (SK), *ant-paṭ* ‘piece of cloth held between the bride and the bridegroom at the wedding’.

*ati-*: ‘excessive’

*ati-dukkha* ‘excessive sorrow’, *ati-pāisa* ‘excessive money’, *ati-lobh* ‘excessive greed’, *atireki* ‘extremist’.

*av-*: ‘bad, of lesser quality’

*av-guṇa* ‘vice’ (SK), *av-kāḷa* ‘bad state or bad condition’.

*up-*: ‘subordinate, next in rank’

*up-grāha* ‘a minor planet, satellite’ (SK), *up-pračarya* ‘vice principal’, *up-kāptan* ‘vice-captain’.

*ku-*: ‘bad, ill’

*ku-čēṣṭa* ‘ridicule’, *ku-caḷkya* (PL) ‘vilifying’, *ku-cār* ‘insoluble grain’.

*čir-*: ‘lasting for a long time’

*čir-śanti* ‘permanent peace’, *čir-kal* ‘lasting time’.

Note that *čirakal* is often used in Marathi as an adverb with the meaning ‘for ever’.

*nana-*: ‘many, different’

*nana-deś* ‘different countries’, *nana-lok* ‘different people’.

*nir-* / *nis-*: ‘without, opposite’

*nir-doš* ‘without fault’ (SK), *nir-gaṭh* ‘difficult knot’, *nir-ābhimān* ‘lack of pride’, *nis-saṅkoṭ* ‘without shyness’ (SK), *niś-karaṇ* ‘without reason’.

*pāḍ-*: ‘second, inferior’

*pāḍ-jibh* ‘second tongue – uvula’, *pāḍ-sad* ‘sound coming back for the second time – echo’.

*prā-*: ‘higher, superior’

*prā-lobhān* ‘higher temptation’ (SK), *prā-addhyapāk* > *praddhyapāk* ‘college teacher’, *prā-ačārya* > *pračārya* ‘principal’.

*prāti-*: ‘opposite’

*prāti-wadi* (plaintiff) ‘defendant’, *prāti-prāśṇa* ‘counter question’.

*sā-*: ‘with’

*sā-jiw* (life) ‘living creature’.

*sāhā-*: ‘with’

*sāhā-saṅcalāk* (director) ‘deputy director’, *sāhā-kuṭumbā* ‘with family’.

*sāt-*: ‘good, true’

*sāt-guru* > *sād-guru* ‘true guide’ (SK), *sāt-saṅ* ‘good company’.

*su-*: ‘good’

*su-swaḡatām* ‘good welcome’, *su-saṅḡati* ‘coherence / good company’ (SK), *su-swābhaw* ‘good character’.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1.1.3 Prefixation: Perso-Arabic (quite productive)

*ain-*: ‘prime, main’

*ain-dupar* ‘prime time of afternoon’.

*bād-*: ‘bad, dis-’

*bād-kārmā* ‘bad deed’ (SK), *bād-nam-i* (bad-name-SUFFIX (see 4.1.2.3)) ‘disrepute’, *bād-maš* ‘rogue’ (P-A).

*be-*: ‘without, less’

*be-rāṅḡā* ‘lack of pleasure – discord’.

In the examples below, there are words that are derived in Sanskrit but simply borrowed in Marathi and there are words that are derived in Marathi by using the Sanskrit suffixes.

#### 4.1.2 Suffixation

##### 4.1.2.1 Sanskrit

-*ak*: ‘actor / doer’

V>N: *ga* ‘sing’ > *gay-ak* ‘singer’, *tar* ‘save’ > *tar-ak* ‘saviour’ (SK), *śikṣa* ‘study’ (SK) > *śikṣ-ak* ‘teacher’, *čal* ‘move’ (SK) > *čal-ak* ‘driver’, *anumud* ‘second’ (SK) > *anumod-ak* ‘second’, *ni* ‘lead’ (SK) > *nay-ak* ‘hero’, *reč* ‘make empty, purge’ (SK) > *reč-ak* ‘purgative’, *wac* ‘read’ > *wač-ak* ‘reader’, *likhā* ‘write’ (SK) > *lekh-ak* ‘writer’.

Object N+V>N: *pas* ‘pass’ *dharəṇ kār* (PHR V) ‘hold’ > *pas-dhar-ak* ‘pass holder’, *bās* ‘bus’ *calāw* ‘drive’ > *bās-čal-ak* ‘bus driver’.

-*antār*: ‘between’

N>N: *bhaṣa* ‘language’ > *bhaṣ-antār* ‘translation’, *weṣā* (SK) ‘dress’ > *weṣ-antār* ‘guise’, *rupā* ‘form’ (SK) > *rup-antār* ‘adaptation’, *deś* ‘nation, country’ > *deś-antār* ‘immigration’.

-*ārthi*: ‘one who earns’

N>N: *widdya* ‘knowledge’ > *widy-ārthi* ‘student’, *poṭ* ‘stomach’ > *poṭ-ārthi* ‘mercenary’, *labh* ‘benefit’ > *labh-ārthi* ‘beneficiary’.

-*i*:

V>N: *pic* ‘move and mix (cards)’ > *pič-i* ‘turn for distributing cards in a cardgame’.

-*kār* / -*kāri*: ‘bringing, doing’

N>N: *ḍol* ‘mast’ > *ḍol-kār* ‘boatman’, *puṇe* ‘Pune’ > *puṇe-kār* ‘person living in Pune, Puneist’.<sup>2</sup>

V>N: *wiṇ* ‘weave’ > *wiṇ-kār* ‘weaver’.

-*kar*: ‘one who does / makes’

N>N: *bhaṣyā* ‘commentary’ > *bhaṣyā-kar* ‘commentator’ (SK), *grānthā* ‘book’ > *grānthā-kar* ‘writer’ (SK), *pātrā* ‘newspaper’ > *pātrā-kar* ‘journalist’, *git* ‘song’ > *gitā-kar* ‘song’, *kāla* ‘art’ > *kāla-kar* ‘artist’, *kātha* ‘story’ > *kātha-kar* ‘story writer’, *naṭak* ‘drama’ > *naṭak-kar* ‘dramatist’.

-*ta*: ‘one who does’

V>N: *šru* ‘listen’ (SK) > *šro-ta* ‘listener, audience’, *wəč* ‘speak’ (SK) > *wək-ta* ‘speaker’.

-*ti*:

V>N: *kru* ‘do’ (SK) > *kru-ti* ‘action’, *smru* ‘remember’ (SK) > *smru-ti* ‘memory’, *trup* ‘be pleased / satisfied’ (SK) > *trup-ti* ‘satisfaction’.

-*twə*: ‘quality of’

N>N: *brahmən* > *brahmənə-twə* ‘quality of being a Brahmin’, *prəbhu* ‘master, lord’ > *prəbhu-twə* ‘dominance’, *nagərik* ‘citizen’ > *nagərikə-twə* ‘citizenship’, *mitra* ‘friend’ > *mitrə-twə* ‘friendliness’.

ADJ>N: *prəuḍh* ‘adult’ > *prəuḍhə-twə* ‘adulthood’, *šreštḥa* ‘superior’ > *šreštḥə-twə* ‘superiority’.

-*dnyə*: ‘expert, one who knows’

N>N: *tət* ‘that’ (PRO SK) > *təd-dnyə* ‘expert’, *šastrə* ‘science’ > *šastrə-dnyə* ‘scientist’, *təntṛə* ‘technique’ > *təntṛə-dnyə* ‘technologist’.

-*bhaw*: ‘characteristic, quality, feeling’

N>N: *wəir* ‘enmity’ > *wəirə-bhaw* ‘feeling of enmity’, *bəndhu* ‘brother’ > *bəndhu-bhaw* ‘brotherhood’, *karyəkarəṇ* ‘cause and effect’ > *karyəkarəṇ-bhaw* ‘relationship between cause and effect’.

#### 4.1.2.2 Perso-Arabic

The following Perso-Arabic suffixes are productive in noun-formations:

-*gar*: ‘doer’

N>N: *gunha* ‘crime’ > *gunhe-gar* ‘criminal’, *kam* ‘work’ > *kam-gar* ‘labourer’, *jadu* ‘magic’ > *jadu-gar* ‘magician’, *mədəd* ‘help’ (P-A) > *mədəd-gar* ‘helper’, *roj* ‘day’ > *roj-gar* ‘daily wages’.

-*dan* / -*daṇi*: ‘container, vessel’

N>N: *khan* ‘nobleman’ (P-A) > *khan-dan* ‘noble family’, *pan* ‘beetleleaf’ > *pan-dan* ‘box for beetleleaves’, *phul* ‘flower’ > *phul-daṇi* ‘vase’, *pik* ‘spit’ > *pik-daṇi* > ‘spitbox’.

-*giri*: ‘state, condition’

N>N: *gulam* ‘slave’ (P-A) > *gulam-giri* ‘slavery’, *bhamṭa* ‘cheater’ > *bhamṭe-giri* ‘cheating’, *səuda* ‘bargain’ > *səude-giri* ‘bargaining’.

V>N: *phasaw* ‘dupe’ > *phaswe-giri* ‘deception’.

*-khana*: ‘place’

N>N: *kar* ‘work’ (P-A) > *kar-khana* ‘factory’, *gaḍi* ‘cart’ > *gaḍi-khana* ‘place where carts are kept’, *dāwa* ‘medicine’ (P-A) > *dāwa-khana* ‘dispensary’, *kuṇṭaṇ* ‘bawd’ > *kuṇṭaṇ-khana* ‘brothel’, *diwaṇ* ‘prime-minister’ (P-A) > *diwaṇ-khana* ‘royal room, living room’.

*-nama*: ‘letter’

*jahir* ‘public, open’ > *jahir-nama* ‘written proclamation’, *kərar* ‘contract’ > *kərar-nama* ‘written contract’, *hukmā* ‘order’ (P-A) > *hukum* > *hukum-nama* ‘written order’.

#### 4.1.2.3 Productive suffixation

(a) V>N

These nouns are from verbs<sup>3</sup> and the suffixes used are characteristics of Marathi.

In the following examples there is no change in the verb-stem except that in careful pronunciation of the derived noun, the vowel is lengthened.

*jhiḡ* ‘wear out’ > *jhiḡ* ‘wearing out’, *čir* ‘cut’ > *čir* ‘cut’, *luṭ* ‘plunder’ > *luṭ* ‘plunder’, *tas* ‘chip’ > *tas* ‘chip’, *cor* ‘steal’ > *cor* ‘thief’.

In the following examples the vowel of the verb-stem is lowered to one level below in forming a noun. (Compare 4.3.3.)

*i>e*:

*phir* ‘go round’ > *pher* ‘going in a circle’

*u>o*:

*jhuk* ‘slant’ > *jhok* ‘slant’, *ḍul* ‘move from side to side’ > *ḍol* ‘moving from side to side’.

*ə>a*:

*utar* ‘get down’ > *utar* ‘slope’, *bighaḍ* ‘develop fault’ > *bighaḍ* ‘fault’, *pəḍ* ‘fall down’ > *paḍ* ‘a fruit ripened on a tree’.

Following nouns are formed by adding derivative suffixes to the verb-stems:

*dhu* ‘wash’ > *duwwa* ‘thorough washing, that is, defeat’, *weḍh* ‘encircle’ > *weḍha* ‘siege’, *jhəgəḍ* ‘quarrel’ > *jhəgḍa* ‘quarrel’, *ulgəḍ* ‘unfold’ > *ulgəḍa* ‘unfolding’, *caw* ‘bite’ > *cawa* ‘bite’.



In the following nouns the object of the verb is included in the meaning:

*ṭhec* ‘pound’ > *ṭhcat* ‘that which is pounded’, *bhār* ‘deposit’ > *bhārṇa* ‘that which is deposited’, *oḍh* ‘pull’ > *oḍha* ‘place where rain water flows with force’, *car* ‘graze’ > *cara* ‘grass for grazing’.

In the following nouns *a* is added and there is a change in the vowel of the verb-stem. The meaning of the noun is restricted.

*tut* ‘break’ > *toṭa* ‘loss’, *jhuk* ‘slant’ > *jhoka* ‘swing’, *miḷ* ‘meet’ > *meḷa* ‘occasion of meeting’, *wec* ‘select, cull’ > *wec-a* ‘extract from a book’.

Suffix *-a* accompanies a vowel change:

*ə > a*

*ukəḍ* ‘be hot’ > *ukaḍ-a* ‘hot weather’, *niwəḍ* ‘select’ > *niwaḍ-a* ‘decision’, *pəsər* ‘spread’ > *pəsar-a* ‘things lying here and there’, *ghəsər* ‘slip’ > *ghəs-a-ra* ‘margin for slipping’.

*-nti*:

(Sanskrit 3rd person present plural verb-form is used as a noun. Notice that in Sanskrit nouns are derived from verb-stems by adding suffixes *-i* and *-nā*: *gām* ‘go’ > *gāti* ‘speed’, *gāmānā* ‘going, departure’.)

*gām* ‘go’ (SK) > *gācchā-* > *gācchā-nti* ‘dismissal, death’, *bhrām* ‘roam’ (SK) > *bhrāmā-nti* ‘touring’, *bhāṭāk* ‘roam’ > *bhāṭākā-nti* ‘touring’, *wāḍ* ‘speak’ (SK) > *wāḍā-nti* / *wāḍānta* ‘rumour’.

*-ai*:

*khod* ‘dig’ > *khod-ai* ‘digging’, *lāḍh* ‘fight’ > *lāḍh-ai* ‘war’, *cāḍh* ‘climb up’ > *cāḍh-ai* ‘attack’, *utār* ‘get out’ > *utār-ai* ‘getting out of one’s debt’.

*-aw*:

*ṭik* ‘last’ > *ṭik-aw* ‘endurance, continuance’, *cāḍh* ‘climb’ > *cāḍh-aw* ‘steep ascent’, *bhār* ‘add/fill’ > *bhār-aw* ‘filling’, *paḍ* ‘cause to fall’ > *paḍ-aw* ‘defeat’, *jām* ‘come together’ > *jām-aw* ‘gathering’, *uṭh* ‘get up’ > *uṭh-aw* ‘uprising’.

*-awa*:

*dekh* ‘see’ > *dekh-awa* ‘scene’, *thirāk* ‘stop’ > *thirk-awa* ‘stopping of a tune’, *pārət* ‘come back’ > *pārət-awa* ‘coming back or return’.

*-i*: derives feminine nouns

*uḍ* ‘fly, jump’ > *uḍ-i* ‘jump’, *kiṇkaḷ* ‘scream’ > *kiṇkaḷ-i* ‘scream’, *uləṭ* ‘turn / come back’ > *ulṭ-i* ‘coming back, vomiting’, *cor* ‘steal’ > *cor-i* ‘theft’, *thuṇk* ‘spit’ > *thuṇk-i*

‘saliva’, *katār* ‘cut’ > *katr-i* ‘cutting scissors’, *kāḍh* ‘boil well’ > *kāḍh-i* ‘soup made by boiling buttermilk’, *poḷ* ‘roast’ > *poḷ-i* ‘wheat bread’, *usāḷ* ‘swerve’ > *usāḷ-i* ‘a swerve’.

-u:

*utār* ‘get down’ > *utar-u* ‘one who gets down’, *jhaḍ* ‘sweep’ > *jhaḍ-u* ‘broom’, *bhiḍ* ‘meet’ > *bhiḍ-u* ‘partner in a game’, *rāḍ* ‘cry’ > *rāḍ-u* ‘crying’, *hās* ‘laugh’ > *hās-u* ‘laughter’.

-e / -ə:

All the following nouns are neuter in gender but their meanings are diverse.

*hās* ‘laugh’ > *hās-ə* ‘state of being ridiculed or laughed at’, *rāḍ* ‘cry’ > *rāḍ-ə* ‘crying’ (derogatory), *khurāp* ‘scrape’ > *khurp-e* ‘an instrument for scrapping’, *wāḷhāw* ‘row’ > *wāḷh-ə* / -e ‘oar’, *wāḍh* ‘grow’ > *wāḍh-e* ‘the upper part of sugarcane’.

-ki:

*ḍul* ‘move forward and backward’ > *ḍul-ki* ‘nap’, *ga* ‘sing’ > *gay-ki* ‘style of singing’.

-ṇ / -n:

*bhaṇḍ* ‘quarrel’ > *bhaṇḍ-ṇ* ‘quarrel’, *dāl* ‘grind’ > *dāl-ṇ* ‘corn to be ground’, *ga* ‘sing’ > *ga-n* ‘song’, *śiw* ‘sew’ > *śiw-ṇ* ‘sewing or clothes for sewing’, *utār* ‘get down’ > *utār-ṇ* ‘slope’, *jew* ‘eat’ > *jew-ṇ* ‘meal’, *loḷ* ‘roll over on the ground’ > *loḷ-ṇ* ‘a rolling over the ground’, *cāḍh* ‘climb’ > *cāḍh-ṇ*.

-wāḷ: ‘payment for / charge for’

This follows the infinitive marker -ṇā attached to the verb.

*lih* ‘write’ + -ṇā (INF) + *wāḷ* > *lihiṇawāḷ* ‘payment for / charge for writing’,

*ghaḍ* ‘make’ + -ṇā (INF) + *wāḷ* > *ghaḍṇawāḷ* ‘charges for making’,

*kha* ‘eat’ + -ṇā (INF) + *wāḷ* > *khaṇawāḷ* ‘charges for meals, board / boarding’.

-ṇi: forms feminine nouns with diverse meanings.

*kār* ‘do’ > *kār-ṇi* ‘black magic’, *rah* ‘live’ > *rah-ṇi* ‘living’, *kap* ‘cut’ > *kap-ṇi* ‘cutting’, *purāw* ‘supply’ > *purāw-ṇi* ‘supplement’, *owāl* ‘light a flame and move around someone as a ritual’ > *owāl-ṇi* ‘gift given at the time of the ritual’, *cal* ‘sift’ > *cal-ṇi* ‘sieve’, *nha* ‘take bath’ > *nha-ṇi* ‘bathroom’, *per* ‘sow’ > *per-ṇi* ‘sowing of seeds’, *maṇḍ* ‘lay, put’ > *maṇḍ-ṇi* ‘lay out, presentation / shelf’, *bhaj* ‘bake’ > *bhaj-ṇi* ‘baked flour’, *ujāl* ‘polish’ > *ujāl-ṇi* ‘polishing, revision’, *likh* ‘write’ (स्क्र) > *lekh-ṇi* ‘pen’, *jhoḍāp* ‘thrash’ > *jhoḍāp-ṇi* ‘a farm instrument for thrashing grains’, *cacāp* ‘feel with the hands, send a feeler’ > *cacāp-ṇi* ‘sending a feeler’.

Object+V: *mān dhār* ‘persuade’ > *māndhār-ṇi* ‘persuasion’.

-*nuk*:

*miraw* 'show' > *miraw-nuk* 'procession', *aḍaw* 'obstruct' > *aḍaw-nuk* 'obstruction', *phasaw* 'cheat' > *phasaw-nuk* 'cheating', *hasaw* 'create laughter' > *hasaw-nuk* 'creation of laughter', *piḷ* 'twist, squeeze!' > *piḷaw-nuk* 'exploitation'.

-*ne* / -*nə*:

It is a productive suffix for deriving infinitive nouns from all verbs. The -*ne* form is also used as a citation form for the verb in dictionaries. As a noun it shows the activity, process etc. indicated by the verb but it can also have other meanings.<sup>4</sup>

*bol* 'speak' > *bol-ne* 'act of speaking / speech', *gaḷ* 'strain' > *gaḷ-ne* 'strainer', *ga* 'sing' > *ga-ne* 'act of singing / song', *uləth* 'turn upside down' > *uləthne* 'turning upside down / a kitchen instrument for turning things upside down', *bolaw* 'call' > *bola-ne* 'call', *khel* 'play' > *khel-ne* 'playing / toy', *dhər* 'catch' > *dhər-ne* 'catching / a kind of strike'.

-*ti*:

*phir* 'move, turn' > *phir-ti* 'touring', *bhər* 'add, fill' > *bhər-ti* 'recruitment', *pəl* 'run' > *pəl-ti* 'turn for running', *gəṇ* 'count' > *gəṇ-ti* 'counting', *bəḍh* 'grow' (Hindi) > *bəḍh-ti* 'promotion', *gəl* 'drip, leak' > *gəl-ti* 'leakage', *gəl* 'leak' > *gəl-ti* 'leakage', *čəl* 'move' (ск) > *čəl-ti* 'prosperity', *mar* 'beat' > *mar-ti* 'state of not having the colour and therefore having a right to use the trumpcard in a card game'.

#### 4.1.2.4 Nouns derived mainly from nouns and adjectives

-*əndaj*: 'user of' (P-A):

N>N: *phalək* 'bat' > *phal-əndaj* 'batsman', *gol* 'round object, ball' > *gol-əndaj* 'bowler', *tir* 'arrow' > *tir-əndaj* 'archer'.

-*ar*:

N>N: *lohə* 'iron' (ск) > *loh-ar* 'blacksmith', *sone* 'gold' > *son-ar* 'goldsmith', *čərmə* 'leather' (ск) > *cambh-ar* 'cobbler'.

ADV>N: *mage* 'at the back' > *magh-ar* 'retreat'.

-*i*:

ADJ>N: *layək* 'deserving, worthy' > *layk-i* 'worthiness', *jəbabdar* 'responsible' > *jəbabdar-i* 'responsibility', *udhar* 'on credit' > *udhar-i* 'buying things on credit', *kəḍək* 'hard, stiff' > *kəḍk-i* 'financially hard time', *ləbaḍ* 'cunning' > *ləbaḍ-i* 'cunningness'.

N>N: *waṭmar* 'assault on the highway' > *waṭmar-i* 'highway robbery', *həlwa* 'sweets' > *həlwa-i* 'seller or producer of sweets'.

-ik:

N>N: *soyra* 'a person related by marriage' > *soyr-ik* 'relation by marriage'.

PP>N: *jəwəʃ* 'near' > *jəwʃ-ik* 'nearness, closeness'.

-ki: 'profession, job'

N>N: *maṇus* 'human being' > *maṇus-ki* 'humanity', *paṭil* 'village head' > *paṭil-ki* 'the job of a village head', *amdar* 'legislator' > *amdar-ki* 'the profession of a legislator', *hukumśāha* 'dictator' > *hukumśah-i* 'dictatorship'.

ADJ>N: *unaḍ* 'mischievous' > *unaḍ-kya* (PL) 'mischievous acts', *kucaʃ* 'vile' > *kucaʃ-ki* 'vilifying'.

V>N: *phuṣar* 'brag' > *phuṣar-ki* 'bragging', *phir* 'rotate' > *phirki* 'rotation – trick, prank'.

-gir: (P-A -gər) 'doer, actor'

*kar* 'art' (P-A) > *kara-gir* 'craftsman', *təmaša* 'a form of entertainment' > *təmas-gir* 'actor in a tamasha'.

-giri: 'act, deed'

ADJ>N: *lučča* 'deceitful' > *luččegiri* 'deceit', *calu* 'cunning' > *calugiri* 'cunningness', *khabu* 'dishonest' > *khabu-giri* 'act of a rascal'.

N>N: *dada* 'big brother' > *dada-giri* 'oppression', *kam* 'work' > *kam-giri* 'feat'.

V>N: *dəḍəp* 'oppress' > *dəḍpe-giri* 'oppression', *ucəl* 'lift' > *uclegiri* 'shop-lifting'.

-dar:

N>N: *nokər* 'servant' > *nokər-dar* 'employee', *bhagi* 'share' > *bhagi-dar* 'participant, shareholder', *bhal* 'spear, lancet' > *bhal-dar* 'attendant with a lancet in his hand', *cop* 'mace' > *cop-dar* 'mace-holder'.

-pəṇ / -pəṇa: '-ness'

It is a very productive suffix used for making nouns from adjectives, nouns, adverbs and postpositions. The declinable adjectives take the neuter form as the base:

ADJ>N: *motha* 'big' > *moṭhe-pəṇa* 'greatness', *śāhaṇa* 'wise' > *śāhaṇ-pəṇa* 'wisdom', *goḍ* 'sweet' > *goḍ-pəṇa* 'sweetness', *śamʃu* 'weak' > *śamʃu-pəṇa* 'weakness', *lāhan* 'small' > *lāhanpəṇa* 'smallness' / *lāhanpəṇ* 'childhood', *caṅgla* 'good' > *caṅgul-pəṇa* 'goodness', *baʃəntə* 'puerperal' > *baʃəntəpəṇ* 'puerperal state', *əḍaṇi* 'illiterate' > *əḍaṇi-pəṇa* 'illiteracy, ignorance', *hawra* 'greedy' > *hawre-pəṇa* 'greediness', *dəyaʃu* 'kind' > *dəyaʃu-pəṇa* 'kindness', *udar* 'generous' > *udarpəṇa* 'generosity'.

N>N: *dew* 'god' > *dewpəṇ* 'godliness', *puḍhari* 'leader' > *puḍhari-pəṇ* 'leadership' / *puḍhari-pəṇa* 'leadership' (derogatory).

ADV>N: *həlu* ‘slowly’ > *həlu-pəṇa* ‘slowness’, *bhərbhər* ‘quickly’ > *bhərbhər-pəṇa* ‘quickness’.

PP>N: *əgodər* ‘before’ > *əgodər-pəṇa* ‘beforeness’, *jəwəl* ‘near’ > *jəwəl-pəṇa* ‘nearness’.

-*wəṭa*:

N>N: *šiṇ* ‘exhaustion, weariness’ > *šiṇ-əwṭa* ‘state of being weary’, *bhog* ‘endurance of pain’ > *bhog-əwṭa* ‘state of endurance’, *dukkhə* ‘sorrow’ > *dukh-əwṭa* ‘mourning’.

-*waik*:

N>N: *nate* ‘relation’ > *nate-waik* ‘relative’, *dhānda* ‘business’ > *dhānde-waik* ‘businessman’.

-*wala*: ‘one who has possession’

N>N: *gaḍi* ‘car, cart’ > *gaḍi-wala* ‘person with a cart / car’, *bhaji* ‘vegetable’ > *bhaji-wala* ‘vegetable seller’, *ṭopi* ‘cap’ > *ṭopi-wala* ‘person wearing a hat’, *peṭi* ‘harmonium’ > *peṭi-wala* ‘person playing a harmonium’.

#### 4.1.2.5 Non-productive suffixes

There are quite a few nouns in Marathi that are formed from verbs or adjectives. The process is restricted to only four or five words. The following are some examples:

*khel* ‘game’ (N) > *khela-ḍu* ‘player’ (N), *mel* ‘meet’ (V) > *mel-awa* ‘gathering’ (N), *dur* ‘away’ (ADV) > *durawa* ‘separation’ (N), *bhak* ‘foretell’ (V) > *bhak-it* ‘foretelling’ (N), *anthar* ‘spread bedding’ (V) > *anthr-un* ‘bedding’ (N), *mil* ‘get, obtain’ (V) > *mil-kət* ‘earning’ (N), *ho* ‘yes’ (PART) > *ho-kar* ‘ascent’, *phas* ‘be entrapped’ (V) > *phas-gət* ‘being entrapped’ (N), *puraw* ‘supply’ (CAUS V) > *puraw-ṭha* ‘supply’ (N), *dukhṇə* ‘illness’ (N) > *dukhṇ-ait* ‘patient’ (N), *bhar* ‘fill be full’ > *bharte* ‘emotional rising’, *waṭ* ‘distribute’ (V) > *waṭə-p* ‘distribution’ (N), *wadh* ‘serve food’ (V) > *wadh-pi* ‘one who serves food’ (N), *udhəl* ‘spend prodigally’ (V) > *udhəl-pəṭṭi* ‘excessive spending’, *ṭhok* ‘hit’ (V) > *ṭhok-ər* ‘blow, hard-hit’ (N), *mut* ‘urin’ (N) > *muta-ri* ‘urinal’ (N F), *kap* ‘tremble’ (V) > *kap-re* ‘shiver’ (N), *khok* ‘cough’ (V) > *khok-la* ‘cough’ (N), *de* ‘give’ (V)-*ghe* ‘take’ (V) > *de-w-ghe-w* ‘exchange’ (N), *hag* ‘discharge excrement’ (V) > *hag-wəṇ* ‘diarrhoea’ (N), *rus* ‘sulk’ (V) > *rus-wa* ‘sulking’ (N), *wəl* ‘turn’ (V) > *wəl-sa* ‘a long turn’ (N), *gar* ‘cold’ (ADJ) > *gar-ṭha* ‘cold’ (N), *pis* ‘feather’ (N) > *pisa-ra* ‘plumage’ (N), *paus* ‘rain’ (N) > *pawsa-la* ‘rainy season’ (N), *bhaḍe* ‘rent’ (N) > *bhaḍe-kəru* ‘tenant’ (N), *mahag* ‘expensive’ (ADJ) > *mahag-ai* ‘rising prices’.

## 4.2 Adjective formation

### 4.2.1 Prefixation

#### 4.2.1.1 Sanskrit

In the examples below, there are words that are derived in Sanskrit but simply borrowed in Marathi and there are words that are derived in Marathi by using the Sanskrit prefixes:

*a-*: ‘absence, without, un-’

*a-saṅkhyā* ‘uncountable’ (SK), *a-kālpit* ‘unimaginable’ (SK), *a-dnyani* ‘not learned, ignorant’ (SK) > *a-ḍaṇi* ‘illiterate’, *a-samānjās* ‘immature’, *a-thāk* ‘tireless’, *a-manuṣā* ‘inhuman’ (SK), *a-jaṇ* ‘without knowing, innocent’, *a-čapāl* (SK ‘not quick, dull’) > *a-čpāl* ‘quick – without restraint’.

*aṇ-*: ‘without’

*aṇ-mol* ‘priceless’, *aṇ-waṇi* (*wāhaṇ* ‘sandal’) ‘without footwear’.

*aṭi-*: ‘excessive’

*aṭṭy-utkruṣṭā* ‘best’ (SK), *aṭi-pāisa* ‘excessive wealth’, *aṭi-lobhi* ‘greedy’.

*ni-*: ‘without, -less’

*ni-rās* ‘tasteless’ (SK), *ni-rogi* ‘without any illness, healthy’, *ni-kop* ‘healthy’, *ni-khāl* ‘pure, mere’, *ni-kam* (‘work’)-*i* ‘defunct’ (for SUFFIX *-i* see 4.2.2.1), *ni-lajra* ‘shameless’, *ni-naw* (‘name’)-*i* ‘anonymous’, *ni-ḍār* ‘fearless’.

*nir-* / *nis-*: ‘without, -less’

*nir-āntar* ‘without break, continuous’ (SK), *nis-tej* ‘not bright, pale, lacklustre’ (SK), *nis-sāntan* ‘childless’, *nir-ākṣar* ‘illiterate’, *nir-lajjā* ‘shameless’, *niś-kālji* ‘careless’, *nir-dhastā* ‘fearless’.

*prā-*: ‘more, very’

*prā-khyat* ‘well-known’ (SK), *prā-khar* ‘very bright’ (SK), *prāchāṇḍ* ‘very big’ (SK), *prā-bhari* ‘in-charge’.

*prāṭi-*: ‘opposite, re-, counter’

*prāṭi-gami* ‘regressive’ (SK), *prāṭi-kul* ‘adverse’ (SK).

*su-*: ‘good’

*su-gras* ‘good in taste’, *sugām* ‘easy to understand’ (SK), *suśikṣit* ‘educated and cultured’, *su-bodhā* ‘easily understood’ (SK), *su-dāul* ‘shapely’.

*ku-*: ‘bad’

*ku-rup* ‘ugly’ (СК), *ku-ləkšəŋ-i* ‘of bad signs’.

*nə-*: ‘not, un-’

*nə+astik* > *nastik* ‘atheist’ (СК), *nə-gəŋŋyā* ‘not worthwhile’ (СК).

*sə-*: ‘with’

*sə-kəs* ‘nutritious’, *sə-jjəd* ‘quite convincing’, *sə-dhəl* ‘with profusion’, *sə-karəŋ* ‘with reason’ (СК), *sə-čitrə* ‘with pictures’ (СК).

*swə-*: ‘self’

*swə-təntərə* ‘independent’, *swə+ayəttə* > *swayəttə* ‘dependent on one’s self’ (СК).

#### 4.2.1.2 Perso-Arabic

*kəm-*: ‘-less, inadequate’

*kəm-jor* (P-A *‘strength’*) ‘weak’, *kəm-kuwət* (P-A *‘power’*) ‘weak’.

*gəir-*: ‘against, opposite’

*gəir-həjər* (P-A *hajir* ‘present’) ‘absent’, *gəir-wajwi* (P-A *wajib* ‘appropriate’) ‘inappropriate’, *gəir-kayda* ‘illegal’ (P-A), *gəir-sawədh* ‘not ready’.

*na-*: ‘not’

*na-umed* (P-A *ummid* ‘confidence’) ‘discouraged’, *na-pəsəntə* ‘not approved’, *na-raj* (P-A *raji* ‘pleased’) ‘upset’, *na-ṭhal* ‘blockhead’.

*bəd-*: ‘bad, ill-’

*bəd-phəili* ‘of bad character, loose’, *bəd-nam* ‘of ill-reputation’.

*be-*: ‘without, not, dis-’

*be-šistə* ‘indisciplined’, *be-iman* ‘disloyal’, *be-dəm* (P-A *dəm* ‘breath, power’) ‘in a manner that makes one powerless – without stopping’, *be-šək* ‘undoubted, without doubt’, *be-pham* ‘wild, heedless’, *be-šəram* ‘shameless’, *bičara* (P-A *be-čara* ‘remedy, way out’ > ‘one who has no way out’) ‘poor, helpless’, *beguman* (P-A *guman* ‘hesitation, doubt’) ‘nonhesitant’, *be-həd* ‘limitless’, *be-čirakh* (P-A *čərag* > *čirag* ‘lamp’) ‘making the residence without lamp, that is inhabited > completely destroyed, burnt’, *be-kar* (P-A *kar* ‘work’) ‘unemployed’, *be-murwət* (P-A *murwət* ‘courtesy, deference’) ‘uncourteous, rude’ (P-A), *be-sumar* (P-A *sumar* ‘number, amount’) ‘excessive, immoderate in number’.

*bin-*: ‘without’

*bin-dikkāt* (P-A *dikkāt* ‘trouble, difficulty’) ‘without problem or difficulty’, *bin-dhastā* ‘without worry or fear’, *bin-toḍ* ‘flawless’, *bin-cuk* ‘without error’, *bin-ḍok* (*ḍoke* ‘head, brain’) ‘stupid’, *bin-pāgari* ‘without salary’, *bin-paṇyači* (*hājamāt*) ‘(shaving) without water – severe criticism’.

*bela-*: ‘without, -less’

*bela-śāk* ‘without hesitation or doubt’.

#### 4.2.1.3 Some other prefixes

*aḍ-* / *aḍ-*: ‘not straight’

N>ADJ: *aḍ-marg* (‘way’) -i (SUF) ‘off the way or by bad means’ (see 4.2.2.1), *aḍ-waḷaṇ* (‘turn’) -i (SUF) ‘far off’.

ADJ>ADJ: *aḍ-muṭha* ‘stupid’.

*bhār-*: ‘full’

N>ADJ: *bhār-jar* (‘golden and silver threads’) -i (SUF) ‘of golden and silver threads’.

ADJ>ADJ: *bhār-bhākkām* (‘strong’) ‘strong’.

V>ADJ: *bhār-dhaw* (‘run’) ‘with full speed’.

### 4.2.2 Suffixation

#### 4.2.2.1 Sanskrit

The examples contain words borrowed from Sanskrit and words derived in Marathi using Sanskrit suffixes.

*-adhin*: ‘dependent, surrendering’

ADJ>ADJ: *pārā* (SK ‘alien, other’) > *pār-adhin* ‘dependent on others’.

N>ADJ: *wyāsən* ‘addiction’ > *wyāsən-adhin* ‘addicted’.

*-akul*: ‘full of’

N>ADJ: *bhāyā* ‘fear’ (SK) > *bhāy-akul* ‘full of fear’, *śokā* ‘sorrow’ (SK) > *śok-akul* ‘sorrowful’.

*-awāhā*: ‘leading to’

N>ADJ: *hitā* (SK ‘benefit, well-being’) > *hit-awāhā* ‘beneficial’, *bhāyā* (SK ‘fear’) > *bhāy-awāhā* ‘full of fear’.



-i: It is a very productive suffix.

N>ADJ: *došə* (sk 'fault') > *doš-i* 'faulty, guilty', *əpəradh* 'fault, mistake' > *əpəradh-i* 'guilty', *səiyəm* 'restraint' > *səiyəmi* 'restrained', *məhatwakanjša* 'ambition' > *məhatwakanjš-i* 'ambitious', *aļəs* 'laziness' > *aļš-i* 'lazy', *dhorən* 'policy' > *dhorən-i* 'shrewd', *laləc* 'greed' > *lalč-i* 'greedy', *gərwə* 'pride' (sk) > *ni-gərw-i* 'not proud', *hisab* (P-A) 'calculation' > *hišeb* > *hišeb-i* 'calculating', *laghəw* 'ease, gentleness' (sk) > *laghəw-i* 'courteous, gentle', *ašiya*, 'Asia' > *ašiya-i* 'Asian', *pəščim* 'west' > *pəščim-i* 'western', *pəgar* 'salary' > *pəgar-i* 'paid', *məttəsər* 'jealousy' > *məttəsər-i* 'jealous', *dəršən* 'seeing, sight' > *dəršən-i* 'that which can be seen', *toŋd* 'mouth' > *toŋd-i* 'oral'.

V>ADJ: *likh* 'write' (sk) > *lekh-i* 'written'.

-ik: 'belonging to, of, about'

N>ADJ: *prəstaw* 'introduction' (sk) > *prəstaw-ik* 'introductory', *iħə* 'this material world' (sk) > *aiħ-ik* 'material, of this world' (sk), *wača* 'speech' > *wač-ik* 'of speech', *šikšən* > *šikšən-ik* 'educational', *liŋgə* 'sex organ' (sk) > *laiŋg-ik* 'sexual', *šrəm* 'labour' > *šrəm-ik* 'labourer', *itiħas* 'history' > *əitiħas-ik* 'historical', *manəs* 'mind' > *manəs-ik* 'mental'.

V>ADJ: *ṭhəraw* 'decide, fix' > *ṭhəraw-ik* 'certain', *tras* 'vex' > *tras-ik* 'complaining', *sos* 'endure' > *soš-ik* 'enduring'.

-it:

V>ADJ: *šəp* 'curse' (sk v) > *šəp-it* 'cursed' (sk), *šuš* 'become dry' (sk v) > *šoš-it* 'dried; exploited', *pəḍ* 'fall' > *pəḍ-it* (*jəmin*) 'not used (land)', *likh* 'write' (sk v) > *likh-it* 'written', *wiskəl* 'be scattered' > *wiskəl-it* 'scattered', *bud* 'sink' > *bud-it* 'sinking', *cəkəkək* 'shine' > *cəkəkək-it* 'shining', *ləkhləkh* 'dazzle' > *ləkhləkh-it* 'dazzling', *jħuljħul* 'flow softly' > *jħuljħul-it* 'soft and thin', *gərgər* 'feel dizzy' > *gərgər-it* 'fat', *jħənjhən* 'feel very hot' > *jħənjhən-it* 'very hot'.

Object+V>ADJ: *gərbhə* 'embryo'+ *gəl* 'fall down, drip' = 'miscarry' > *gərbhəgəl-it* 'frightened'.

-in:

N>ADJ: *kulə* 'high family' (sk) > *kul-in* 'of superior upbringing', *bħutəkəl* 'past' (sk) > *bħutəkəl-in* 'of past time', *mələ* 'dirt' (sk) > *məl-in* 'dirty'.

ADJ>ADJ: *nəwə* 'new' (sk) > *nəw-in* 'new'.

-iyə / -kiyə:

N>ADJ: *tuləna* 'comparison' > *ə-tulən-iyə* 'incomparable', *jat* 'caste' > *jat-iyə* 'casteist', *raĵ* 'king' (sk) > *raĵəkiyə* 'of the king' (sk) > political, *puĵən* 'worship' > *puĵən-iyə* (sk).

ADJ>ADJ: *pəərə* 'alien, other' (sk) > *pəərə-kiyə* 'foreign'.

-uk: 'affected by'

N>ADJ: *kamā* 'desire' (स्म) > *kam-uk* 'affected by sexual desire' (स्म), *bhaw* 'emotion' > *bhaw-uk* 'affected by emotion', *ghat* 'danger' > *ghat-uk* 'dangerous'.

-k: 'doing, bringing, causing'

V>ADJ: *tar* 'save' > *tar-ək* 'saviour' (स्म), *rhu* 'take away' (स्म) > *harək* 'remover' (स्म), *mar* 'kill' > *mar-ək* 'killing'.

N>ADJ: *jac* 'torment' > *jacə-k* 'taxing, tormenting', *bhəmpə-k* / *čəmpə-k* 'foolish'. (The stems are never used.)

-kər: 'giving, causing'

N>ADJ: *hitā* 'benefit' (स्म) > *hitā-kər* 'beneficial' (स्म), *sukhā* 'comfort' > *sukhā-kər* 'comfortable'.

-tən:

ADV>ADJ: *pura* 'in ancient times' (स्म) > *pura-tən* 'old', *čirəm* 'for a long time' (स्म) > *čirəntən* 'lasting for a long time'.

-tyə:

N>ADJ: *pəščim* 'west' > *pəščima-tyə* 'western' (स्म), *dəkšīṇ* 'south' > *dakṣiṇa-tyə* 'southern'.

-dərši: 'seeing' / -dəršək 'showing'

ADJ>ADJ: *sukšmā* 'subtle, minute' > *sukšmā-dərši* 'seeing minute things' / *sukšmā-dəršək* 'showing minute things'.

N>ADJ: *parəm* 'further or opposite side' (स्म) > *parā-dərši* / *pardəršək* 'transparent'.

-dayək / -dā: 'giving'

N>ADJ: *dukkhā* 'sorrow' > *dukkhā-dayək* / *dukkhā-dā* 'sad' (स्म), *sukhā* 'comfort' > *sukhādā* / *sukhadayəkā* (स्म) 'comfortable', *tras* 'trouble' > *tras-dayək* 'troublesome', *dhakka* 'shock' > *dhakka-dayək* 'shocking', *tap* 'annoyance' > *tap-dayək* 'annoying'.

-grəstā / -piḍit: 'affected or hit by'

N>ADJ: *bhāyā* 'fear' (स्म) > *bhāyā-grəstā* 'affected by fear', *wad* 'dispute' > *wad-grəstā* 'disputed', *bhukāmpā* 'earthquake' > *bhukāmpā-grəstā* / *bhukāmpā-piḍit* 'affected by earthquake', *pur* 'flood' > *purā-grəstā* 'flood affected'.

-*man* / -*māntā*: 'having'

N>ADJ: *śri* 'wealth, prosperity' > (sk *sri-māt* 'wealthy, rich') > *śri-man* / *śri-māntā* 'title for a rich, powerful person', *buddhi* 'intelligence' > *buddhi-man* / *buddhi-māntā* 'intelligent'.

-*rāhit*: 'without'

N>ADJ: *śokā* 'sorrow' (sk) > *śokā-rāhit* 'without sorrow', *niyām* 'rule' > *niyām-rāhit* 'without rule', *sakhār* 'sugar' > *sakhār-rāhit* 'without sugar'.

-*spād*: 'full of'

N>ADJ: *sauśāy* 'doubt' > *sauśāya-spād* 'doubtful, dubious', *śaṅka* 'doubt' > *śaṅka-spād* 'doubtful', *lājā* 'shame' > *lājā-spād* 'shameful' (sk), *ghruṇā* 'dislike' > *ghruṇa-spād* 'detastable' (sk), *ābhiman* 'pride' > *ābhimana-spād* 'proud'.

-*yā*:

V>ADJ: *rām* 'rejoice' (sk) > *rāmm-yā* 'delightful' (sk), *bhu* 'exist, happen' *bhāww-yā* 'gorgeous', *śru* 'hear' (sk) > *śraww-yā* 'to be listened to', *tyāj* 'abandon' (sk) > *tyāj-jā* 'to be forsaken', *sāh* 'endure' (sk) > *sāihyā* 'tolerable', *dā* 'give' (sk) > *de-yā* 'to be given', *gā* 'sing' > *geyā* 'musical'.

-*wan*: also in Marathi -*wāntā*: 'having'

N>ADJ: *dhānā* 'wealth' (sk) > *dhānā-wan* 'rich', *kārtrutwā* 'skill in doing' > *kārtrutwā-wan* 'successful in action', *guṇā* 'quality' (sk) *guṇā-wan* / *guṇā-wāntā* 'virtuous', *āyusśā* > *āukśā* 'life' > *āukśā-wāntā* 'long living', *bhaggyā* 'fortune' > *bhaggyā-wan* 'fortunate'.

-*wi*: 'having'

N>ADJ: *tejās* 'brilliance' (sk) > *tejās-wi* 'brilliant', *māyā* 'deceit, fraud' (sk) > *māyā-wi* 'deceitful, false'.

-*lu* / -*l* (from sk -*lu*): 'full of'

N>ADJ: *dāyā* 'mercy' > *dāyā-lu* 'merciful', *śraddha* 'faith, belief' > *śraddha-lu* 'believing in', *khaj* 'sexual desire' > *khajā-lu* 'lecherous', *pay* 'leg' > *paya-lu* 'born with legs foremost', *tonḍ* 'mouth' > *tonḍā-l* 'reckless in speech', *mādh* 'honey' > *mādhā-l* 'sweet', *rās* 'juice' > *rāsā-l* 'juicy', *swāpnā* 'dream' > *swāpnā-lu* 'dreamy', *laj* 'shyness' > *lajā-lu* 'shy'.

V>ADJ: *wisār* 'forget' > *wisra-lu* 'forgetful', *jhop* 'sleep' > *jhop-a-lu* 'sleepy'.

ADJ>ADJ: *naṭ* 'inauspicious' > *naṭhā-l* 'vile, block-headed'.

#### 4.2.2.2 Perso-Arabic

-war: 'according to, by, with'

N>ADJ: *tāpšil* 'details' > *tāpšil-war* 'with all the details', *khate* 'account' > *khate-war* 'according to the accounts'.

ADJ>ADJ: *sāṅgātā* 'harmonious' (स्व) > *sāṅgāt-war* 'following the order'.

-khor:

N>ADJ: *cugli* 'slander' > *cugal-khor* 'slandorous', *haram* 'bad deed' > *haram-khor* 'wicked', *cāhaḍi* 'slander' > *cāhaḍ-khor* 'slandorous', *ṭawālī* 'mockery' > *ṭawāl-khor* 'jeering', *bhaṇḍāṇ* 'quarrel' > *bhaṇḍ-khor* 'quarrelsome', *čid* 'anger' > *čid-khor* 'short-tempered'.

-baj: 'indulging in'

N>ADJ: *kawa* 'plot' > *kawe-baj* 'wily', *daga* 'treachery' > *daga-baj* 'treacherous', *raṇḍ* 'prostitute' > *raṇḍi-baj* 'indulging in illegal sexual activities', *daru* 'liquor' > *daru-baj* 'indulging in drinking', *laphḍe* 'scam' > *laphḍe-baj* 'indulging in illegal acts'.

#### 4.2.2.3 Marathi adjective formations

In Marathi sometimes adjectives are formed on the analogy of the suffix, for example, in *khul-cəṭ*, *khul* can be traced back to *khulā* but in *lo-cəṭ* 'obstinate, persisting', *lām-pəṭ* 'addicted to worldly pleasure', the first components are meaningless. In such cases we have given the components but without glosses.

V>ADJ: *ughāḍ* 'open' > *ughāḍ* 'open', *bhārāḍ* 'grind coarsely' > *bhārāḍ* 'coarse (flour)'.

ADV+V>ADJ: *wāstra-tun* 'piece of cloth-through', *gaḷ* 'sift' > *wāstrāgaḷ* 'very fine', *paya-pāryāntā* 'feet-upto', *ghoḷ* 'extend loosely' > *pay-ghoḷ* 'reaching the feet – very long'.

-ək:

V>ADJ: *niwāḍ* 'select' > *niwāḍ-ək* 'selected', *sar* 'cause to move' > *sar-ək* 'making loose', *wedh* 'target' > *wedh-ək* 'attractive', *sudhar* 'improve' > *sudhar-ək* 'reforming', *tuṭ* 'break' > *tuṭ-ək* 'broken', *khoc* 'offence' > *khoc-ək* 'offensive, pointed', *bhoc* 'interfering'.

Object+V>ADJ: *hani* 'damage' + *kār* 'do' > *hanikar-ək* 'damaging', *čittā* 'mind' + *tharar* 'shake, quiver' > *čittātharar-ək* 'thrilling'.

-aṭ / -kaṭ / -gaṭ / -caṭ / -maṭ: 'with a tinge of, having some characteristic of'

ADJ>ADJ: *bawla* 'foolish' > *bawla-aṭ* 'foolish', *hawra* 'greedy' > *hawra-aṭ* 'greedy', *matī* 'mud, soil' > *mat-kaṭ* 'muddy', *khol* 'deep' > *khol-gaṭ* 'deep', *rog* 'disease' > *rog-aṭ*

'sickly', *padra* 'dirty smelling' > *padr-aṭ* 'dirty smelling', *ubha* 'standing, straight' > *ubh-aṭ* 'longish', *hirwa* 'green, raw' > *hirw-aṭ* 'raw, uncultured', *por* 'child' > *por-kəṭ* 'child-ish', *kəḍu* 'bitter' > *kəḍ-wəṭ* 'bitter', *khula* 'silly' > *khul-cəṭ* 'silly'.

V>ADJ: *ghabər* 'be scared' > *ghabr-aṭ* 'scared', *jəl* 'burn' > *jəl-kəṭ* 'burnt', *kuj* 'rot' > *kuj-kəṭ* / *kuj-aṭ* 'rotten', *tap* 'be hot' > *tap-aṭ* 'hot headed', *pus* 'wipe, make faint' > *pus-aṭ* 'faint', *koṇḍ* 'suffocate' > *kond-aṭ* 'suffocating', *pəsər* 'spread' > *pəsər-aṭ* 'shallow'.

N>ADJ: *khar* 'salt' > *khar-aṭ* 'salty', *paṇi* 'water' > *paṇ-cəṭ* 'watery – tasteless', *meṇ* 'wax' > *meṇ-cəṭ* 'waxy', *suj* 'swelling' > *suj-məṭ* 'swollen', *waṭr-aṭ* 'not serious' (disapproval), *ṭar-gəṭ* 'making fun of everything', *dəṇ-kəṭ* 'stout, sturdy'.

-əs:

N>ADJ: *doḷa* 'eye' > *doḷ-əs* 'having eyes – being aware of', *lobh* 'attraction' > *lobh-əs* 'attractive', *raja* 'king' > *rajəs* 'kingly'.

ADJ>ADJ: *tirka* 'not straight, slanting' > *tirk-əs* 'not straight', *bhaṇk-əs* 'trivial'.

-a: All are inflected for gender and number

V>ADJ: *ləṅgəḍ* 'to limp' > *ləṅḍ-a* 'lame', *ughəḍ* 'open' > *ughḍ-a* 'uncovered', *uləṭ* 'turn upside down' > *ulṭ-a* 'upside down', *suṭ* 'be loose' > *suṭ-a* 'separate', *cəḍh* 'climb' > *cəḍh-a* 'high', *mut* 'urinate' > *mutr-a* 'urinating'.

Object+V: *jiw* 'life' + *ghe* 'take' = 'kill' > *jiwghe-ṇa* (INF) 'dangerous for life', *toṇḍ* 'face' + *dekh* 'see' (archaic) > *toṇḍdekh-l* (PERF)-a 'without being serious or honest'.

ADV+V: *ghər* 'house' -at (PP) 'in' = 'in the house' + *bəs* 'sit' > *ghərbəs-a* 'housebird'.

ADV>ADJ: *paṭh* 'back' -mor (PP) = 'with the back to the front' > *paṭhmor-a* 'showing the back'.

PP>ADJ: *səmor* 'in front' > *samor-a* 'facing'.

N>ADJ: *šembuḍ* 'mucus' > *šembḍ-a* 'snotty', *wəḍ* 'madness' > *wəḍ-a* 'mad'.

-au: 'for'

V>ADJ: *wik* 'sell' > *wik-au* 'for sale', *jəl* 'burn' > *jəl-au* 'for burning', *ṭik* 'last' > *ṭik-au* 'lasting', *ləḍh* 'fight', *ləḍh-au* 'fighting', *šik* 'learn' > *šik-au* 'learning'.

-aḍ: shows contempt

V>ADJ: *bhi* 'fear' > *bhy-aḍ* 'coward', *kha* 'eat' > *khaḍ* (SK v *khaḍ*)-aḍ 'greedy', *pi* 'drink' > *pet-aḍ* 'drunk'.

ADJ>ADJ: *os* 'deserted' > *os-aḍ* 'barren', *thor* 'big, great' > *thor-aḍ* 'a bit older / bigger', *maṭh* 'block-headed' > *maṭh-aḍ* 'block-headed'.

N>ADJ: *reti* 'sand' > *ret-aḍ* 'sandy', *bhintā* 'wall' > *bhint-aḍ* 'wall', *ṭekḍi* 'hill' > *ṭek-aḍ* 'mound', *murda* 'corpse' (P-A) > *murd-aḍ* 'insensible', *bhārti* 'addition, inclusion' > *bhārt-aḍ* 'of unwanted addition'.

-ar:

V>ADJ: *cuk* 'miss' > *cuk-ar* 'shirking'.

N>ADJ: *bhik* 'alms' > *bhik-ar* 'bad, poor', *ṭuk-ar* 'of bad quality'.

-il / -el:

V>ADJ: *cāḍh* 'climb' > *cāḍh-el* 'inflated', *ḥhap* 'print' > *ḥhap-il* 'printed', *pāḍ* 'fall' > *pāḍ-el* (*umedwar*) 'defeated' (contestant), *rāg* 'strength' > *rāgel* 'obstinate', *rāṅg* 'colour' > *rāṅgel* 'indulging'.

-iw:

V>ADJ: *kor* 'carve' > *kor-iw* 'carved', *rekh* 'draw' > *rekh-iw* 'well drawn', *rakh* 'reserve' > *rakh-iw* 'reserved', *akh* 'plan' > *akh-iw* 'planned', *ghoṭ* 'rub hard' > *ghoṭ-iw* (*kagāḍ*) 'polished (paper)', *waḍh* 'increase, grow' > *waḍh-iw* 'increased'.

-u:

V>ADJ: *mar* 'beat' > *maru* 'attractive', *cal* 'walk' > *calu* 'cunning'.

Obj+V>ADJ: *bhaw* 'price – paying attention to self-importance' + *kha* 'eat' = 'increase self-importance' > *bhawkha-u* 'hesitant in order to increase self-importance', *khisa* 'pocket' + *kap* 'cut' > *khis-e* (PL)-*kap-u* 'pickpocket', *gāly-at pāḍ* (IDM) 'urge and cling' > *gālepāḍu* 'insistent and clinging', *mathe / ḍoke phir* (IDM) 'get mad' > *mathe / ḍoke-phiru* 'headstrong', *ḥikāṭ* 'stick' > *ḥikṭ-u* 'sticking, clinging', *kāc kha* (IDM) 'retract by fear' > *kāckha-u* 'retracting'.

N>ADJ: *gaṇḍ* 'anus' > *gaṇḍ-u* 'an abusive term', *ghoḷ* 'mess' > *ghoḷ-u* 'messy'.

-ela: The derived noun can be inflected for gender and number

N>ADJ: *bhuk* 'hunger' > *bhuk-ela* 'hungry', *tāhan* 'thirst' > *tāhan-ela* 'thirsty', *nak* 'nose' > *nak-ela* 'sharp nosed'.

ADJ>ADJ: *uncā* 'tall' > *unc-ela* 'tall'.

-kār:

N>ADJ: *ruḥi* 'taste' > *ruc-kār* 'tasty', *khoḍ* 'prank' > *khoḍ-kār* 'naughty', *khel* 'game, playing' > *khel-kār* 'playful'.

-ka: All the derived nouns are inflected for gender

V>ADJ: *pāḍ* 'fall' > *pāḍā-ka* 'dilapidated', *moḍ* 'break' > *moḍ-ka* 'broken', *rus* 'sulk' > *rus-ka* 'sulking', *ḥiḍ* 'take offence' > *ḥiḍ-ka* 'snappish', *rāḍ* 'cry' > *rāḍ-ka* 'crying', *nas*

‘rot’ > *nas-ka* ‘rotten’, *udhəl* ‘scatter / spend’ > *udhəl-bhəs-ka* ‘prodigal’, *jəl* ‘burn’ > *jəl-ka* ‘burning’.

ADJ>ADJ: *pər* ‘other, different’ > *pər-ka* ‘foreign’.

-*ṭa*: All the derived nouns are inflected for gender

ADJ>ADJ: *ek* ‘one’ > *ek-ṭa* ‘lonely, alone’.

N>ADJ: *nak* ‘nose’ > *nək-ṭa* ‘flat-nose’, *bhur-ṭ* (*cor*) ‘petty (thief)’.

-*ḍa*: shows contempt

V>ADJ: *ghəsər* ‘slip’ > *ghəsər-ḍa* / *nisər-ḍa* ‘slippery’, *wak* ‘bend’ > *wak-ḍa* ‘bending’.

ADJ>ADJ: *khoṭa* ‘untrue’ > *khoṭ-ar* (SUFFIX) -*ḍa* ‘lying’, *ghan* ‘dirt’ > *ghan-er* (SUFFIX) -*ḍa* ‘dirty’.

N>ADJ: *čimu* ‘sparrow’ > *čim-ur* (SUFFIX) -*ḍa* ‘small like a sparrow’, *bhik* ‘alms’ > *bhik-ar* (SUFFIX) -*ḍa* ‘poor, cheap’.

-*ṇar*: Prospective marker

All are inflected for gender and number. This is a very productive suffix. Any verb could be changed into an adjective with this suffix.

V>ADJ: *bol-ṇara* (*popəṭ*) ‘speaking (parrot)’, *nac-ṇari* (*bahuli*) ‘dancing (doll)’, *gaṇare makəḍ* ‘singing monkey’.

In Marathi head noun can be deleted and the -*ṇar* adjective can be used as a noun:

- (1) *bol-ṇar-ya-ce*                      *tonḍ*    *dhərta*    *yet nahi*  
       speak-PROSP-OBL-POSS    mouth    hold-IMP    V2 NEG  
       ‘One cannot hold the tongue of a person (= one cannot stop other people talking)’

-*t*: Imperfective marker

All are inflected for gender and number.

V>ADJ: *khel* ‘play’ > *khel-ta* (*mulga*) ‘playing (boy)’, *pəl* ‘run’ > *pəl-ti* (*gaḍi*) ‘running (train)’, *uməl* ‘blossom’ > *uməl-te* (*phul*) ‘blossoming flower’, *bolaw* ‘call’ > *bolāwi-ta* (*dhəni*) ‘(one) who makes others act’.

In Marathi the head noun can be deleted and the -*t* adjective can be used as a noun:

- (2) *buḍ-t-ya-la*                      *kaḍi-ca*    *adhar*  
       drown-IMP-OBL-DAT    stick-POSS    support  
       ‘One who is drowning finds support even in a stick.’

*-dar / -šir / -waik*: ‘containing, having’

N>ADJ: *iman* ‘loyalty’ > *iman-dar* ‘loyal’, *jābab* ‘answer’ (P-A) > *jābab-dar* ‘answerable, responsible’, *wājən* ‘weight’ (P-A) > *wājən-dar* ‘heavy, influential’, *caw* ‘taste’ > *caw-dar* ‘tasty’, *rubab* ‘impressive demeanour’ > *rubab-dar* ‘of impressive demeanour, smart’, *masla* ‘sample’ > *masle-dar* ‘typical’, *māja* ‘fun’ > *māje-dar* / *māje-šir* ‘funny’, *hawa* ‘air’ > *hawe-šir* ‘airy’, *tārha* ‘way’ > *tārhe-waik* ‘strange’.

N>Adj: *khatrī* ‘guarantee’ > *khatrī-šir* ‘reliable’, *waktā* ‘time’ (P-A) > *waktāšir* ‘punctual’, *kiphayət* ‘profit’ (P-A) > *kiphayət-šir* ‘beneficial’, *bet* ‘measure’ > *bet-šir* ‘neither more nor less, proportionate’.

*-ya*: The suffix is extremely common in forming derived nouns and adjectives. It has been termed ‘the ubiquitous suffix’.

ADJ>ADJ: *jaḍ* ‘fat’ > *jaḍ-ya* ‘fat’, *lambu* ‘tall’ > *lamb-ya* ‘tall’, *ṭhomba* ‘boorish’ > *ṭhomb-ya* ‘boorish’, *lənḍa* ‘lame’ > *lənḍ-ya* ‘limping’.

Often it is used as a noun in vocative case:

- (3) *eh jaḍ-ya kuṭhe cal-l-as*  
oh fatty where go-PERF-2MSG  
‘Where are you going – you fatty?’

V>ADJ: *rād* ‘cry’ > *rād-ya* ‘crying’, *nac* ‘dance’ > *nač-ya* ‘dancing’.

N>ADJ: *harkam* ‘every work’ > *harkam-ya* ‘able to do any or every work’, *ṭakkal* ‘bald head’ > *ṭakl-ya* ‘bald-headed’.

*-ra*: Inflected for gender and number

V>ADJ: *hās* ‘smile’ > *hās-ra* ‘smiling’, *laj* ‘be shy’ > *laj-ra* ‘shy’, *buj* ‘be timid’ > *buj-ra* ‘timid’, *ghabār* ‘be scared’ > *ghab-ra* ‘scared’, *boc* ‘prick’ > *boc-ra* ‘prickly’, *dukh* ‘pain’ > *dukh-ra* ‘paining’, *suj* ‘swell’ > *suj-ra* ‘swollen’.

N>ADJ: *haw* ‘greedy’ > *haw-ra* ‘greedy’, *gub* ‘fattish, plump’.

*-l / -lel*: Perfective or second perfective markers

All are inflected for gender. Any verb can be changed into an adjective through this process. The adjective can be used as a noun:

- (4) *me-lel-ya-la mar-u nākos*  
to dead kill not  
‘Do not kill one who is already dead.’

V>ADJ: *dekh* ‘see’ > *dekh-la* (*dew*) ‘(god) that one happens to have met’, *pik* ‘ripen’ > *pik-le* (*pan / phaḷ*) ‘ripe (leaf / fruit)’, *jhak* ‘cover’ > *jhak-li muṭh* ‘covered (fist) = hidden secret’, *ja* ‘go’ > *ge-le* (*wərṣā*) ‘(year) that has passed = last year’.



*-sər/-gel/-wəʔ*: ‘a little bit, faint, -ish’

All are inflected for gender and number.

ADJ>ADJ: *kaḷa* ‘black’ > *kaḷ-sər* ‘a little bit black’, *jaḍ* ‘fat’ > *jaḍ-sər* ‘a little bit fat’, *ambəʔ* ‘sour’ > *ambəʔ-sər* ‘a little bit sour’, *jaḍ* ‘fat’ > *jaḍ-gela* ‘a little fat’, *kəḍu* ‘bitter’ > *kəḍ-sər* / *kəḍwəʔ* ‘a little bit bitter’.

*-ri*:

N>ADJ: *puṇe* ‘Pune’ > *puṇe-ri* ‘from / of Pune’, *rupe* ‘silver’ > *rupe-ri* ‘of sliver’, *ədhantər* ‘half space’ > *ədhantə-ri* ‘hanging’, *sone* ‘gold’ > *sone-ri* ‘golden’, *kaṭa* ‘thorn’ > *kaṭe-ri* ‘thorny’.

*-la* / *-ca* / *-sa*:

These are bound postpositions and are inflected for gender and number. Only *-ca* is added to nouns (after OBL) to indicate a possessive adjective. *-sa* makes an adjective from an adverb.

N>ADJ: *ghər* ‘house’ > *ghər-a-ca* ‘of house’, *deš* ‘nation’ > *deš-a-ca* ‘of a nation’.

PP>ADJ: *puḍhe* ‘in front’ > *puḍh-ca* / *puḍh-la* ‘front / next’, *baheṛ* ‘outside’ > *baheṛ-ca* / *baheṛ-la* ‘of outside’, *mədhe* ‘between, in’ > *məḍh-la* ‘middle’, *šewəʔ* ‘at the end’ > *šewəʔ-ca* / *šewəʔ-la* ‘last’.

ADV>ADJ: *tikəḍe* ‘to that side’ > *tikəḍ-ca* / *tikəḍ-la* ‘of there’, *ikḍe* ‘here’ > *ikəḍ-ca* / *ikəḍ-la* ‘of here’, *ewḍha* ‘so much’ > *ewḍh-la* ‘so much’, *kewḍha* ‘how much’ > *kewḍha-sa* / *kewḍha-la* ‘very little / very much’.

*-wa*:

It is added to cardinal numerals from five onwards to make ordinals. Ordinals can be used as adjectives.

ADJ>ADJ: *pac* ‘five’ > *pacwa* ‘fifth’ (see Ordinals 3.3.2.2), *šəmbhər* ‘hundred’ > *šəmbhəra-wa* ‘hundredth’, *bəra* ‘good’ > *bər-wa* ‘good’.

PP>ADJ: *aḍ* ‘behind’ > *aḍ-wa* ‘coming in the way’.

*-waṇa*:

All the derived adjectives are inflected for gender and number.

ADJ>ADJ: *gojira* ‘handsome’ > *gojir-waṇa* ‘handsome’, *din* ‘pitiable’ > *dinə-waṇa* ‘pitiable’.

N>ADJ: *kiḷas* ‘disgust’ > *kiḷas-waṇa* ‘disgusting’, *laj* ‘shame’ > *laj-ir-waṇa* ‘shameful’.

-sa: 'ish' (reduced form of *asa*)

ADJ>ADJ: *moṭha* 'big' > *moṭha-sa* 'big', *lāhan* 'small' > *lāhan-sa* 'smallish', *bāraca* 'a good deal' > *bāraca-sa* 'quite some'.

V>ADJ: *saj* 'be appropriate' > *saje-sa* / *saj-el* (FUT) -sa 'appropriate', *pəṭ* 'be convincing' > *pəṭ-el* (FUT) -sa 'convincing'.

In modern colloquial Marathi, one finds that the English word 'able' is sometimes used as a suffix to form an adjective: *bāgh* 'watch' > *bāgh-ṇe* (INF) -*bāl* 'worth watching', *kha* 'eat' > *kha-ṇe* (INF) -*bāl* 'eatable'.

#### 4.2.2.4 Minor suffixes

Quite a few adjectives are formed by using affixes that are no more used productively in modern Marathi. The following are some examples:

*phug* 'puff, swell' (v) > *phug-ir* 'puffed' (ADJ), *baṭ* 'be converted' > *baṭ-ga* 'converted', *pāl* 'run' (v) > *pāl-puṭa* 'deserter', *bhi* 'fear' (v) > *bhi-tra* 'fearful', *nəṭ* 'adorn and decorate oneself' (v) > *nəṭ-wa* 'of airs and affectation', *kasaw-is* 'distressed', *kheḍe* 'village' (N) > *kheḍ-wāl* 'vulgar, uncivilized', *rag* 'anger' (N) > *rag-it* 'angry', *piṭh* 'flour' (N) > *piṭh-ul* 'full of flour', *bhəy* 'fear, horror' (N) > *bhəy-aṇ* 'horrible', *ran* 'forest' (N) > *ranəṭi* 'wild'.

### 4.3 Verb formation

#### 4.3.1 Verb formation processes

Verb formation is not a very productive process due to abundance of phrasal verbs. Verbs derivation excludes prefixation.<sup>5</sup>

##### 4.3.1.1 Nouns used as verbs

The uses of words that are used both as verbs and as nouns have been noted below in that order:

*phul* 'bloom – flower', *cop* 'beat – beating', *laj* 'be shy – shame', *andhar* 'be dark – darkness', *puja* 'worship', *phāl* 'bear fruit – fruit', *maj* 'intoxicate – intoxication', *dhaw* 'run', *gaṭh* 'catch up – meeting', *joḍ* 'join – joint', *gher* 'surround – circumference', *čir* 'cut', *toḍ* 'break – broken pieces', *luṭ* 'plunder', *wadh* 'grow – growth', *wiṭal* 'defile – impurity', *kəṇṭal* > *kəṇṭala* 'get bored – boredom', *car* > *cara* 'graze – food for animals, birds', *ujed* > *ujad* 'dawn – light', *gar* 'cool' (ADJ) > *garṭha* 'cold' (N) > *garṭh* 'get cold, freeze'.

#### 4.3.1.2 Adjectives used as verbs

*akhud* / *akhad* 'shorten; short', *lamb* 'long; lengthen', *gəḏhuł* 'muddy; become muddy', *taṭh* 'erect', *wanjh* 'be barren – barren', *čikəṭ* 'sticky – stick', *khurəṭa* > *khurəṭ* 'stunted – be stunted', *phendra* > *phendar* 'snub (nose) – be snub'.

#### 4.3.2 Suffixation

Most verbal suffixes are of native origin. Their number is small. These suffixes are added to nouns, adjectives.

##### 4.3.2.1 Productive suffixation

-əw / -aw: 'make, get'

N>V: *nond* 'entry' > *nond-əw* 'enter', *khar* 'salt' > *khar-əw* / -aw 'make salty', *pani* 'water' > *paṇ-əw* / -aw 'be tearful', *panha* 'breast-milk' > *panh-əw* 'be ready for breast-feeding', *saṭha* 'stock' > *saṭh-əw* 'make a stock', *palwi* 'foliage' > *pal-əw* 'sprout', *dukkhə* 'sorrow' > *dukh-əw* / -aw 'make sad, hurt', *sukh* 'comfort' > *sukhəw* / -aw 'make happy', *laḍ* 'fondling, caressing' > *laḍ-aw* 'spoil by caressing or favouring', *khun* 'sign' > *khunəw* / -aw 'make signs', *aḷəs* 'laziness' > *aḷs-aw* 'be lazy', *as* 'desire' > *as-aw* 'have a desire, yearn', *sanj* 'evening' > *sanj-aw* 'be evening', *bəḷ* 'strength, power' > *bəḷ-aw* 'increase in power', *cəṭ* 'taste' (archaic) > *cəṭ-aw* 'acquire a taste / trick'.

ADJ>V: *weḍa* 'mad' > *weḍaw* 'get / make mad', *dur* 'away' > *dur-aw* 'be distanced, be away', *roḍ* 'thin' > *roḍ-aw* 'become thin', *rundə* 'wide' > *rund-aw* 'widen', *sustə* 'sluggish' > *sust-aw* 'be sluggish', *uncə* 'high' > *unc-aw* 'be high', *ola* 'wet' > *ol-aw* 'get wet'.

ADV>V: *pərat* 'again' > *pərt-əw* 'send back'.

PP>V: *khal* 'below, down' > *khal-aw* 'lower, go down', *aḍ* 'behind' > *aḍ-əw* 'prevent', *uləṭ* 'opposite' > *ulṭ-əw* 'turn over'.

-aḷ:

N>V: *phes* 'foam' > *phes-aḷ* 'be foamy', *maṇus* 'man' > *maṇs-aḷ* 'domesticate', *pise* 'madness' > *pis-aḷ* 'get mad', *cokh* 'pure' > *cokh-aḷ* 'follow' (the noun-meaning is almost lost in the verb-meaning), *ḍhep* 'lump' > *ḍhep-aḷ* 'lump, be slow', *reṅg-aḷ* 'lag behind'.

-ar:

N>V: *phul* 'flower' > *phul-ar* 'blossom', *čitrə* 'drawing, painting' > *čit-ar* 'draw, paint'.

ADJ>V: *ubha* 'upright, erect' > *ubh-ar* 'erect'.

PP>V: *pudhe* 'in front' > *pudh-ar* 'be in front / be progressive'.

#### 4.3.2.2 Non-productive suffixes

*jhoḍ* 'thrash / thrashing' (V / N) > *jhoḍ-əp* 'thrash', *bomb* 'loud shout' (N) > *bomb-əl* 'shout loudly', *kaḷa* 'black' (ADJ) > *kaḷ-wəṇḍ* 'become dark / black', *lath* 'kick' (N) > *lath-aḍ*.

#### 4.3.3 Causative verbs

Causative verbs employ the suffix *-əw*.<sup>6</sup> Notice that the *-əw* / *-aw* suffix under 4.3.2.1 also has a causative type meaning.

- i. *pəḷ* 'run' > *pəḷ-əw* 'cause to run' or 'steal'
- ii. *cal* 'walk / work' > *cal-əw* 'cause to walk / work'
- iii. *bəs* 'sit' > *bəs-əw* 'cause to sit'
- iv. *həs* 'laugh' > *həs-əw* 'cause to laugh'
- v. *uṭh* 'get up' > *uṭh-əw* 'cause to get up'
- vi. *kər* 'do' > *kər-əw* 'cause to do'
- vii. *hər* 'lose' > *hər-əw* 'cause to lose'
- viii. *phek* 'throw' > *phek-əw* 'cause to throw'
- ix. *miḷ* 'earn, get' > *miḷ-əw* 'cause to get'
- x. *mag* 'ask for' > *mag-əw* 'cause to ask for'
- xi. *aṇ* 'bring' > *aṇ-əw* 'cause to bring'
- xii. *de* 'give' > *dew-əw* 'cause to give'

Causativisation increases the valency of the verb i.e. it adds one more argument to the argument structure of the verb. The intransitive verbs (i) to (v) require only one argument, (vi) to (x) require two arguments and the benefactive verbs (xi) and (xii) require three. But their causative forms still require an additional argument:

- (5) *to pəḷa-la*  
 he run-PERF-3MSG  
 'He ran away.'

Causative:

- (6) *ti-ne tya-la pəḷ-əw-le*  
 she-ERG he-DAT run-CAUS-PERF-3NSG  
 'She made him run.'
- (7) *tya-ne čeṇḍu pheḷ-la*  
 he-ERG ball-MSG throw-PERF-MSG  
 'He threw a ball.'

Causative:

- (8) *tya-ne majha-kəḍun čenḍu phe-əw-la*  
 he-ERG I-POSS-PP(INST) ball-MSG throw-CAUS-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘He made me throw the ball.’
- (9) *tya-ne ti-la saḍi aṇ-l-i*  
 he-ERG she-DAT saree-FSG bring-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘He brought her a saree.’

Causative:

- (10) *tya-ne nokr-a-kərwi tila saḍi*  
 he-ERG servant-OBL-PP(INST) she-DAT saree-3FSG  
*aṇ-əw-li*  
 bring-CAUS-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘He got a servant to bring her a saree.’

However, this does not apply to some verbs:

- (11) *tya-la pəise miḷ-tat*  
 he-DAT money-MPL get-IMP-3MPL  
 ‘He earns money.’

Causative:

- (12) *to pəise miḷ-əw-to*  
 he-MSG money earn-CAUS-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He earns money.’

Even if one can add *nokəri-tun* ‘through employment’ or *ai-kəḍun* ‘from mother’, to the sentence with the causative verb, these can be added to the sentence with the non-causative verb as well.

In Marathi some monosyllabic intransitive verbs (verbs with one argument) get a causative form through internal vowel change. The medial vowel *u* of the intransitive verb becomes *o* in its causative transitive form. The medial vowel *ə* becomes *a* in the causative. Medial *i* becomes *e* but final *i* becomes *a* in the causative. With the exception of the final *i* becoming *ə*, there is a lowering of the vowel to one level below (compare 4.1.2.3). The retroflex voiceless *ʈ* in the final position becomes voiced *ḍ*.

*u > o*:

Non-causative		Causative
<i>phuṭ</i> ‘break’	>	<i>phoḍ</i> ‘break’
<i>tuṭ</i> ‘break’	>	<i>toḍ</i> ‘cut’
<i>suṭ</i> ‘become free’	>	<i>soḍ</i> ‘make free’

<i>jud</i> 'unite'	>	<i>joḍ</i> 'conjoin'
<i>rut</i> 'get stuck'	>	<i>row</i> 'fix, plant'
<i>ruk</i> 'stop'	>	<i>rokh</i> 'hold, cause to stop'
<i>gut/gunt</i> 'tangle'	>	<i>gow</i> 'entangle'

*ə>a:*

<i>pəḍ</i> 'fall'	>	<i>paḍ</i> 'fell'
<i>mər</i> 'die'	>	<i>mar</i> 'kill'
<i>ṭəl</i> 'miss'	>	<i>ṭal</i> 'avoid'
<i>bhər</i> 'fill'	>	<i>bhar</i> 'make full of'
<i>tər</i> 'survive, float'	>	<i>tar</i> 'save'
<i>gəl</i> 'drip, leak'	>	<i>gal</i> 'strain'
<i>jəl</i> 'burn'	>	<i>jal</i> 'burn'
<i>kəṭ</i> 'cut'	>	<i>kaṭ</i> 'cut'
<i>sər</i> 'move'	>	<i>sar</i> 'move'
<i>nəḍ</i> 'be hindered'	>	<i>naḍ</i> 'rob or cause to obstruct'

The following monosyllabic verbs are transitives containing vowels *i* and *a*:

*i>a:*

*pi* 'drink' > *paj* 'make drink'

*i>e:*

*phiṭ* 'remove / be finished' > *pheḍ* 'cause to remove / finish by returning', *lih* 'write' > *lekh* 'write off, consider'.

*a>a:*

*lag* 'set, be planted etc.' > *law* 'plant, fix etc.'

This is the most complex verb with multiple meanings.

The quasi-aspectual *-ayla law* 'force to' brings the causative meaning to the verb; it also adds one argument.

#### 4.3.4 Abilitative verbs

The addition of *-əw* to the verb without adding an argument often has abilitative rather than causative meaning. It means that the actor makes himself do the action:

- (13) *to*            *pəl-to*  
          he-MSG run-IMPV-3MSG  
          'He runs.'

- (14) *mi tya-la pəḷ-əw-to*  
 I-MSG he-DAT run-CAUS-IMPF-1MSG  
 ‘I make him run.’
- (15) *to ata bəra jha-la ahe; tya-la*  
 he now recover from illness-PERF-3MSG Be-PRES he-DAT  
*pəḷ-əwə-te*  
 run-ABIL-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘Now that he has recovered from illness, he can run.’

Verbs that do not take the causative *-əw* often take the abilitative *-əw*:

- (16) *to puṇ-ya-la rah-to*  
 he-MSG Pune-OBL-PP live-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He lives in Pune.’
- (17) *\*mi tya-la puṇ-ya-la rah-əw-to*  
 I he-DAT Pune-OBL-PP live-CAUS-IMPF-1MSG  
 ‘I make him live in Pune.’
- (18) *tyači bəhiṇ puṇ-ya-la əs-l-ya-muḷe, tya-la tithe*  
 his-FSG sister-FSG Pune-OBL-PP be-PERF-OBL-PP he-DAT there  
*rah-əw-te*  
 live-ABIL-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘Since his sister is in Pune, he is able to live there.’

*thuṇk-əw* ‘be able to spit’, *bol-əw* ‘be able to speak’, *ok-əw* ‘be able to vomit’, *taṇ-əw* ‘be able to stretch’ are abilitative, not causative. For the syntactic implications of this see Chapter 6.3.3.

## 4.4 Compounds

### 4.4.1 Conjoining

Compounds may be formed by conjoining two words or two free morphemes. Marathi has borrowed many compounds from Sanskrit: (sk: *lambā* ‘long, big’ + *udarā* ‘stomach’) > *lambodar* ‘one who has a big belly – Ganesh’, (sk: *dāśā* ‘ten’ + *anānā* ‘mouth, face’) > *dāśānān* ‘one who has ten faces – Ravan’ or (sk: *tāpā* ‘penance’ + *bhāṅgā* ‘breaking’) > *tāpabhāṅg* ‘breaking of religious austerity’, (sk: *suryā* ‘sun’ + *udāyā* ‘rise’) > *suryodayā* ‘sunrise’, (sk: *nagā* ‘serpent’ + *iśā* ‘king’) > *nageś* ‘king of snakes’, (sk: *iti* ‘thus’ + *adi* ‘beginning with’) > *ityadi* ‘and so on, etc’. In conjoining two words in Sanskrit two vowels coalesce to form one long vowel. Such words are borrowed in Marathi as they are, but the fusions which are

called *sandhi* are not. For example, the Marathi word *kāmi* ‘a little’ (P-A) + *ādhik* ‘more’ (SK) becomes the Marathi compound *kāmiādhik* ‘little or more’; it does not have the expected Sanskrit *sandhi* form: *kāmyādhik*. Similarly *jāmin* ‘earth’ (P-A) + *āsman* ‘heaven, sky’ (P-A) forms the Marathi compound *jāmināsman* ‘heaven and earth’, and does not have a Sanskrit *sandhi* *jāmināsman*. Even the semantic changes in Marathi compounds are not a part of Sanskrit semantics. For example, the Sanskrit compound *śubhāmāṅgal* (SK *śubhā* ‘well, sacred’ + *māṅgal* ‘auspicious’) ‘sacred and auspicious’ acquires the meaning ‘marriage’ in Marathi.

The constituents of a compound can be plain stems as in *bāhiṇ-bhau* ‘sister and brother’ or suffixed stems as in *ghoḍ-nāwr-i* ‘bride who has crossed the marriageable age’, *uṭh-bās* ‘close contact’ or *uṭh-a-bāṣ-a* ‘a physical exercise of sitting and getting up’.

#### 4.4.2 Compound nouns

We will consider the constituents of compounds and the resultant forms. Compounds borrowed from Sanskrit are marked as (SK) and those borrowed from Perso-Arabic are marked as (P-A). Borrowed constituents also are marked where necessary.

##### 4.4.2.1 Noun + noun compounds

###### (a) N+N>N

*bhimā* ‘Bhim’ (SK) + *arjunā* ‘Arjun’ (SK) > *bhim-arjun* ‘Bhim and Arjun’ (SK), *nyayā* ‘justice’ (SK) + *an-nyayā* ‘injustice’ (SK) > *nyay-anyay* ‘justice and injustice’ (SK).

*bhau* ‘brother’ + *bāhiṇ* ‘sister’ > *bhau-bāhiṇ* ‘brother and sister’, *kulup* ‘lock’ + *killi* ‘key’ > *kulup-killi* ‘lock and key’, *wārāṇ* ‘pulses’ + *bhat* ‘rice’ > *wārāṇ-bhat* ‘rice and pulses’, *hat* ‘hand’ + *pay* ‘foot’ > *hat-pay* ‘hands and feet’, *bap* ‘father’ + *jade* ‘sons’ (P-A) > *bap-jade* ‘ancestors, forefathers’, *čambu* ‘pot for drinking water’ + *gəbaḷ* ‘useless or trivial articles’ > *čambu-gəbaḷ* ‘all belongings’, *həstāk* (*həstā* ‘hand’ (SK)) + *məstāk* ‘head’ (SK) > *həstāk-məstāk* ‘hand and head’.

These compounds show the joining of two nouns by ‘and’ or ‘or’ etc. But in Marathi, unlike in Sanskrit, the whole compound may mean something else as in the following:

*poṭ* ‘stomach’ + *paṇi* ‘water’ > *poṭpaṇi* ‘livelihood’ or *śubhā* ‘auspicious’ + *māṅgal* ‘pious’ > *śubhāmāṅgal* ‘marriage’.

In a sentence the verb agreement is either plural or with the second member of the compound:



- (19) *te bhaubāhin a-le*  
 they-MPL brother and sister come-PERF-3MPL  
 'Brother and sister came.'
- (20) *tya-la kulupkilli sapāḍ-li*  
 he-DAT lock-NSG key-FSG find-PERF-FSG  
 'He found the lock and key.'
- (21) *ti-ne tya-la gadi-uṣi di-li*  
 she-ERG he-DAT mattress-FSG-pillow-FSG give-PERF-FSG  
 'She gave him a mattress and a pillow.'

When used with a postposition the oblique marker is added to the second member of the compound. But in some cases it is added to both members of the compound. The oblique marker is in bold face in the following examples:

- (22) *ḍoṅṛ-a-tun nad ghum-la*  
 mountain-OBL-PP sound-MSG reverberate-PERF-3MSG  
 'The sound reverberated through the mountain.'
- (23) *ḍoṅṅṛ-dāry-a-tun nad ghum-la*  
 mountain-valleys-OBL-PP sound-MSG reverberate-PERF-3MSG  
 'The sound reverberated through the mountain and the valleys.'
- (24) *tyāca mata-pit-ya-n-na dukkhā jha-l-e*  
 his mother-father-OBL-PL-DAT sorrow-3NSG be-PERF-3NSG  
 'His parents felt sad / were sorrowful.'
- (25) *tyāca mat-ya-pit-ya-n-na dukkhā jha-l-e*  
 his mother-OBL-father-OBL-PL-DAT sorrow-3NSG become-PERF-3NSG  
 'His parents felt sad.'
- (26) *tyāca hat-a-pay-a-la lag-le*  
 his hand-OBL-foot-OBL-DAT hurt-PERF-3NSG  
 'He got hurt in his hands and feet.'
- (27) *ha tyāca jiwān-māṛṇ-a-ca prṣṇā ahe*  
 this-MSG his life-death-OBL-PP-MSG question Be-PRES  
 'This is a question of his life and death.'

(b) N+N>N

The use of the compound noun as an adjective is a typical Sanskrit feature. In Marathi it can be used both as a noun and an adjective. The first constituent noun functions as an attribute of the second unlike the compound under (a) where the two have equal status. The compounds in (b) therefore behave as singular nouns whereas those under (a) behave as plural nouns. Some examples:

*čakra* ‘wheel’ + *paṇi* ‘hand’ (SK) > *čakra-paṇi* ‘one who holds a *charka* in his hand – that is, Vishnu’ (SK), *paṇḍhār* ‘white’ + *peša* ‘occupation, profession’ > *paṇḍhār-peša* ‘one who has a white-collar job’, *bhikar* ‘bankrupt’ + *sawkar* ‘money-lender’ > *bhikar-sawkar* ‘a bankrupt and a moneyed man – a cardgame’, *tirtha* ‘holy water’ + *rup* ‘form’ > *tirtha-rup* ‘one who is sacred as holy water – father’.

(c) N+N>N

In this group the first constituent has an underlying postpositional ending that relates it to the second constituent:

*raja-prasad* (SK) = *raja* ‘king’ -*ca*: PP ‘of’ *prasad* ‘palace’ = ‘king’s palace’.

It is possible to relate the two nouns by using different postpositions as in the following:

*raja-widya* =

- i. *raja* ‘king’ -*saṭhi*:PP ‘for’ -*či*:PP ‘of’ *widya* ‘knowledge’ = ‘knowledge to be given to a king’.
- ii. *raja* ‘king’ -*ne*:AGN *miḷaw* ‘obtain’ -*leli*:2<sup>nd</sup>PERF NON-FIN *widya* ‘knowledge’ = ‘knowledge obtained by a king’.
- iii. *widya* ‘knowledge’ (*ji* ‘which’) *raj* ‘prime’ (*ahe*:Be-PRES) = ‘knowledge which is prime like a king’.

*puja-drāwyā* = *puj-e* ‘worship’-OBL *saṭhi*:PP ‘for’ *drāwyā* ‘material’ = ‘things for worshipping God’, *kāmār-paṭṭa* = *kāmār-e-ca* ‘waist’-OBL-POSS *paṭṭa* ‘belt’ = ‘girdle’, *laṅgoṭi-mitrā* = *laṅgoṭi-sarkha*: ‘underwear’-PP ‘like’ *mitrā* ‘friend’ = ‘close friend’, *keḷ-phul* = *keḷ-i-ce* ‘banana tree’-OBL-POSS *phul* ‘flower’ = ‘flower of the banana tree’, *ṣeṅ-dāṇa* = *ṣeṅ-e-til* ‘pod’-OBL-PP inside’ *dāṇa* ‘seed’ = ‘bean of the podtree’, *wār-may* = *wār-a-či* ‘bridegroom’-OBL-POSS *may* ‘mother’ = ‘bridegroom’s mother’, *ran-ḍukkār* = *ran-a-til* ‘forest’-OBL-PP ‘inside’ *ḍukkār* ‘pig’ = ‘wild pig’, *ghār-kombḍa* = *ghār-atil* ‘house’-PP from inside’ *kombḍa* ‘cock’ = ‘sluggish person’, *ṣis-pen* = *ṣis-a-ce* ‘lead’-OBL-POSS *pen* ‘pen’ (E) = ‘pencil’, *moṭār-gaḍi* = *moṭār-wār* ‘motar’ (E)-PP ‘on’ *calṇari* ‘driven by’ *gaḍi* ‘car’ = ‘motor-car’, *khāḍi-sakhār* = *khāḍ-yan-či* ‘small stone’-OBL-PL-POSS *sakhār* ‘sugar’ = ‘sugar cube’, *bai-manuṣ* = *bai* ‘woman’ *aṣṇare* ‘one who is’ *manuṣ* ‘person’ = ‘woman’, *purāṇ-poli* = *purāṇ-a-či* ‘(sweet) stuffing’-OBL-POSS *poli* ‘chapati’ = ‘chapati that has sweet filling inside’, *ghoḍ-nāwāri* = *ghoḍ-ya-ewhḍhi* ‘horse’-OBL-PP *nāwāri* ‘bride’ = ‘bride who has crossed the marriageable age’, *hat-puṣṇe* = *hat-a-saṭhi-ce* ‘hand’-OBL-PP ‘for’-POSS *puṣ-ṇe* ‘wipe / dry’-INF = ‘a piece of cloth for wiping hands / a napkin’, *hat-čalakhi* = *hat-a-či* ‘hand’-OBL-POSS *čalakhi* ‘trick’ = ‘trick of hand’, *raḍ-kātha* = *raḍā* ‘crying’ *aṣ-ṇar-i* ‘be’-PROSP-SUFFIX *kātha* ‘story’ = ‘story full of sorrow’, *ghoḍ-swar* = *ghoḍ-ya-wārca* ‘horse’-OBL-PL-PP *swar* ‘rider’ = ‘horse-rider’, *diwe-lagāṇ* = *diwe* ‘lamp’ (PL) *lag-ṇe* ‘light’-INF = ‘time of lighting the lamps’.

In pluralization the plural marker is normally added only to the end of the compound: *moṭərgaḍ-i* ‘car’-FSG > *moṭərgaḍ-ya* (FPL) ‘cars’. But in *šəṇḍaṇa* and *baimaṇs*, there are two variants:

*šəṇḍaṇ-e*(PL) OR *šəṇḡ-a*(PL) *daṇ-e*(PL)  
*baimaṇs-e* / -ə(PL) OR *baɣ-a*(PL)*maṇs-e* / -ə(PL)

#### 4.4.2.2 Verb + verb compounds

##### (a) V+V>N

The following compounds are made up by conjoining two verb-stems or two suffixed verb-stems. The resultants are nouns:

*ne* ‘take away’ + *aṇ* ‘bring’ > *ne-aṇ* ‘export and import’, *uṭh* ‘get up’ + *bəs* ‘sit down’ > *uṭh-bəs* ‘physical effort, visit or close contact’, *uṭh-a* ‘get up’-IMP + *bəš-a* ‘sit down’-IMP > *uṭha-bəša* ‘a physical exercise of sitting and getting up’, *uṭh-a* ‘get up’-IMP + *ṭhew* ‘put’ > *uṭha-ṭhew* ‘meddling’, *ye* ‘come’ + *ja* ‘go’ > *ye-ja* ‘commuting’, *adaḷ* ‘strike’ + *apaṭ* ‘hit’ > ‘tossing and stamping’, *kaḍh* ‘take out’ + *ghal* ‘put in’ > *kaḍh-ghal* ‘iterative and fruitless taking out and putting in’, *cal* ‘walk’ + *ḍhəkəl* ‘push’ > *cal-ḍhəkəl* ‘postponement, hesitation’, *kha-ṇe* ‘eat’-INF(NSG) + *pi-ṇe* ‘drink’-INF(NSG) > *khaṇe-piṇe* ‘eating and drinking, living in general’.

The resultant noun is singular. When the verb is changed into a noun by adding the infinitive *-ṇ*, both the constituents get the oblique markers when inflected for a postposition; otherwise this does not happen:

- (28) *tyača yeja-la məhətwə nahi*  
 his commuting-DAT importance NEG  
 ‘His commuting is not important.’
- (29) *tyača ye-ṇ-ya-ja-ṇ-ya-ne mə-la tras*  
 his come-INF-OBL-go-OBL-PP I-DAT trouble-3MSG  
*ho-to*  
 happen / occur-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘His coming and going is troublesome for me.’

Sometimes two verbs with the predictive marker *-aɣc* are joined to form a nominal compound. These compounds are always used with postpositions:

- (30) *kha-y-py-ay-saṭhi*  
 ‘eat’-PRED-‘drink’-PRED-PP ‘for’  
 ‘for eating and drinking’
- (31) *lih-ay-wac-ay-kərita*  
 ‘write’-PRED-‘read’-PRED-PP ‘for’  
 ‘for reading and writing’

## (b) Object+V&gt;N

For verb-suffixation see 4.1.2.3.

*ḍoke* ‘head’ + *dukh* ‘ache’ > *ḍoke-dukh-i* ‘headache’, *kan* ‘ear’ + *kor* ‘pick’ > *kan-kor-ṇe* ‘earbud’, *kan* ‘ear’ + *ughad* ‘open’ > *kan-ughad-ṇi* ‘rebuke’, *prāṣṇā* ‘problem’ + *miṭ* ‘close’ > *prāṣṇ-miṭ-i* ‘solution to problem’, *laṅgulām* ‘tail’ (SK) + *čalānām* ‘wagging’ (SK) > *laṅgul-čalān* ‘apple-polishing / flattery’, *kokṇ* ‘Konkan area’ + *sthā* ‘staying, living’ (SK) > *kokṇā-sthā* ‘one who lives in Konkan, a Brahmin subcaste’, *madār* ‘mother’ (P-A) + *čod* ‘hold in sexual intercourse’ > *madār-čod* ‘one who hold his mother in sexual intercourse – an abuse’, *bhaḍ* ‘money obtained by selling women for prostitution’ + *khau* ‘eater’ > *bhaḍ-khau* ‘one who earns money by selling women for prostitution – an abuse’, *jhop* ‘sleep’ + *mod* ‘break’ (PHR V) > *jhop-mod* ‘disturbing one’s sleep’, *pakiṭ* ‘pocket – wallet’ (E) + *mar* ‘rob’ (PHR V) > *pakiṭ-mar* ‘pick-pocket’, *waṭ* ‘way’ + *mar* ‘rob’ > *waṭ-mar* ‘high-way robber’.

The order is V+Object in the following:

*jitā* ‘conquered’ (SK) + *indriyā* ‘sense organ’ (SK) > *jit-endriyā* ‘one who has conquered his senses’ (SK), *mrutā* ‘dead’ (SK) + *atma* ‘soul’ > *mrut-atma* ‘dead person’.

## 4.4.2.3 Adjective + noun compounds

## (a) ADJ+N&gt;N

*tambḍi* ‘red’ + *mati* ‘soil’ > *tambḍi-mati* ‘arena for wrestling’,  
*kaḷi* ‘black’ + *ai* ‘mother’ > *kaḷi-ai* ‘farm-land’,  
*wir* ‘brave’ + *puruṣ* ‘man’ > *wir-puruṣ* ‘brave man’,  
*khara* ‘salted’ + *daṇa* ‘groundnut’ > *khara-daṇa* ‘salted groundnut’ (in pluralization both the constituents take the plural marker: *khara-e-daṇ-e* ‘salted groundnuts’),  
*culat* ‘paternal’ + *bhau* ‘brother’ > *culat-bhau* ‘cousin’, *sāḍa* ‘single’ + *soṭ* ‘stick’ > *sāḍa-soṭ* ‘single like a stick’.

## (b) ADJ+N&gt;N

*ubha* ‘steep, vertical’ + *dawa* ‘enmity’ > *ubha-dawa* ‘bitter enmity’

## 4.4.2.4 Postposition + noun compounds

## PP+N&gt;N

*aḍ* ‘irregular, odd’ + *war* ‘day’ > *aḍwar* ‘not a regular day’.  
*wina* ‘without’ + *pārwana* ‘licence’ > *wina-pārwana* ‘without licence’.

#### 4.4.2.5 Interjection / vocative + noun compounds

##### (a) VOC+N>N

*are* 'Ah!' (VOC) + *raw-i* 'title'-SUFFIX > *are-raw-i* 'impudence'.

##### (b) VOC+INTJ>N

*hā* 'yes'-ji 'sir' + *hā-ji* > *hanji-hanji* 'flattery'.

#### 4.4.2.6 Postpositional phrase + V compounds

##### PP phrase+V>N

*waṭ-e-ne* 'way'-OBL-PP 'by' + *sər-u* 'go'-SUFFIX > *waṭ-səru* 'traveller', *saṭh-i-til* 'sixty'-OBL-PP + *buddhi* 'sense, judgement' > *saṭhi-buddhi* 'weakening of intellect in one's sixties', *paṭh-i-mage* 'back-OBL-PP 'behind' + *lag* 'be, go' > *paṭh-lag* 'chase'.

#### 4.4.3 Compound adjectives

##### 4.4.3.1 ADJ+ADJ>ADJ

The two constituents are joined by 'and' or 'or' in the underlying structure. Examples:

*gora* 'fair in colour' + *ghara* 'cat-eyed' > *gora-ghara* 'fair and cat-eyed', *maha* 'big' + *murkhā* 'foolish' > *maha-murkhā* 'extremely stupid', *dukkhi* 'sad' + *kāṣṭhi* 'heavy hearted' > *dukkhi-kāṣṭhi* 'dejected', *ulāṭ* 'cross' + *sulāṭ* 'not cross' > *ulāṭsulāṭ* 'thorough, covering all aspects', *pāṭit* 'fallen' + *pawān* 'purified' > *pāṭit-pawān* 'absolved', *lamb* 'long' > *lāwčik* 'supple' > *lamb-lācāk* 'very long', *luḷa* 'paralyzed' + *paṇḷa* 'lame' > *luḷa-paṇḷa* 'crippled', *don* 'two' + *tin* 'three' > *dontin* 'two or three – some, a few', *ekhada* 'some one' + *dusra* 'the other' > *ekhad-dusra* 'some or other (but not many)', *khāre* 'true' + *khote* 'false' > *khāre-khote* 'true and / or false', *kowḷa* 'young' + *lusluṣit* 'lustrous' > *kowḷa-lusluṣit* 'young and lively'.

##### 4.4.3.2 N+ADJ>ADJ

*bhākti-ne* 'devotion'-PP 'by' + *wāṣā* 'won by persuasion' > *bhākti-wāṣā* 'won by devotion', *ghānā* 'cloud' (SK) + *śamā* 'dark' (SK) > *ghānāh-śam* 'dark like a cloud – Krushnā', *buddhi* 'intelligence' + *hin* 'deficient' > *buddhi-hin* (SK) 'without intelligence', *kāpaḷ* 'forehead' + *kārāṇṭa* 'luckless' > *kāpaḷ-kārāṇṭa* 'wretched, unlucky', *tonḍ-a-ne* 'mouth'-OBL-PP 'by' + *paṭh kār* 'learn by heart' > *tonḍ-paṭh* 'learnt by heart', *doi* 'head' + *jāḍ* 'heavy' > *doi-jāḍ* 'authority defying, defiant', *rog-a-pasun* 'disease'-OBL-PP + *muktā* 'free' (SK) > *rogā-muktā* (SK) 'free from disease', *dan* 'donation' + *śur* 'brave' > *dan-śur* 'generous', *sāmāy* 'time' + *sučāk* 'suggesting' > *sāmāy-sučāk* 'occurring in mind at the proper time', *jānm-a-pasun* 'birth'-OBL-PP

'since, from' + *dāridri* 'poor' > *jānmā-dāridri* 'poor from birth', *hat* 'hand' + *khāṇḍa* 'ready' (P-A) > *hat-khāṇḍa* 'accomplished, perfect by practice'.

#### 4.4.3.3 Noun + verb compounds

N+V>ADJ

*boṭ* 'finger' + *čep-e* 'pressurize'-SUFFIX > *boṭ-čepe* 'yielding', *kaḷ* 'time' + *kaḍh-u* 'buy'-SUFFIX > *kaḷ-kaḍhu* 'time taking – delaying', *bhaji* 'vegetable' + *wik-ya* 'sell'-SUFFIX > *bhaji-wikya* 'selling vegetables', *kan* 'ear' + *phaṭ-ya* 'tear'-SUFFIX > *kan-phaṭya* 'one who has torn earlobes-one with a bad name', *khise* 'pocket'-PL + *kap-u* 'cut'-SUFFIX > *khise-kapu* 'one who picks pockets', *iṣwār-a-kaḍun* 'God' (SK)-OBL-PP 'by' + *nirmit* 'created' (SK) > *iṣwār-nirmit* 'created by God', *kāṣṭ-a-ne* 'efforts'-OBL-PP 'by' + *saddhya* 'achievable' > *kāṣṭasaddhya* (SK) 'achievable by efforts', *yoga-pasun* 'yoga' (SK)-OBL-PP 'from' + *bhrāṣṭa* 'fallen' (SK) > *yoga-bhrāṣṭa* 'fallen from yoga – meditation', *pād-a-pasun* 'position-OBL-PP 'from' + *čutā* 'sacked' (SK) > *pādāčcut* 'sacked from office', *ghar-at* 'house-PP' 'in' + *bās* 'sit'-a SUFFIX > *ghar-bāsa* 'remaining all the time at home', *ghar-at* 'house'-PP 'in' > *ghar* + *ghus* 'enter'-a SUFFIX > *ghuṣa* > *ghar-ghuṣa* 'entering forcibly in the house', *gaḷ-y-at* 'neck'-OBL-PP 'in' + *pāḍ-u* 'fall'-SUFFIX > *pāḍu* > *gaḷe-pāḍu* 'hanging upon'.

#### 4.4.3.4 ADJ+V>ADJ

*khadaḍ* 'voracious' + *kha-u* 'eat'-SUFFIX > *khadaḍ-khau* 'voracious', *ek-əl* 'one'-SUFFIX + *koṇḍ-a* 'shut up'-SUFFIX > *ekəl-koṇḍ-a* 'unsocial', *ek* 'one' + *bhuktā* 'eaten' (SK) > *ek-bhuktā* 'taking food only once a day'.

#### 4.4.3.5 ADV+ADJ>ADJ

*upjāt* 'from birth' + *śāhaṇa* 'clever' > *upjāt-śāhaṇa* 'one who is clever from birth'; *sāda* 'always' + *sukhi* 'comfortable, happy' > *sāda-sukhi* 'one who is always happy'.

The order is reversed in the following (N+ADV>ADJ):

*kaḍi* 'chip of wood, straw' + *matrā* 'merely, barely' > *kaḍi-matrā* 'even a little bit'; *tiḷ* 'sesame seed' + *matrā* 'merely, barely' > *tiḷ-matrā* 'very small'.

### 4.5 Reduplication

Reduplication is a special case of compounding. It is mainly a phonological process, though there are examples of reduplications that have a semantic base. For example, *māumāu* 'soft + soft = soft' is a reduplication in which the first member – reduplicator – is repeated as the second member – reduplicand. In *šejariṭapajari* 'neighbour', the reduplicator's *še* – changes to *pa*. In the reduplication *dhawpəḷ*

'hustlebustle' the reduplicator *dhaw* 'run' and the reduplicand *pəl* 'run' are independent verbs. The repetition is that of meaning. We will distinguish between phonological and semantic reduplications in Marathi.

#### 4.5.1 Phonological reduplication

There are several types of reduplications in which the sounds of the reduplicator are repeated or echoed in the reduplicand.

##### 4.5.1.1 Identical reduplicand

The reduplicator and the reduplicand are identical in form – the derivative suffixes are to be excluded. In the following examples there are two types: (a) the reduplicative as a whole has meaning but the two constituents are not independent morphemes, (b) the reduplicator is a free morpheme or a word and the reduplicand is merely a repetition of the reduplicator. The repetition is for emphasis, intensification. (For intensifiers see 4.6 and 3.8.2.)

Noun:

- (a) *həl-həl* 'sense of regret', *wəṭ-wəṭ* 'jabber', *kəl-kəl* 'concern', *məl-məl* 'feeling sick', *bəḍ-bəḍ* 'chatter', *khəl-khəl* 'squabbling', *gur-gur* 'growling', *kaw-kaw* 'crowing', *čiw-čiw* 'chirping', *khəḍ-khəḍ* 'rustling', *šuk-šuk-aṭ* 'quietude', *bhər-bhər-aṭ* 'prosperity', *rip-rip* 'drizzling of rain', *čik-čik* 'mud', *dhəḍ-dhəḍ* 'palpitation', *gun-gun* 'whisper', *kun-kun* 'rumour', *kəṭ-kəṭ* 'nuisance', *səl-səl* 'susurrous'.<sup>7</sup>
- (b) *bai* 'woman' > *bayka*(PL)-*bayka*(PL) 'only women', *tukḍa* 'bit, piece' > *tukḍe*(PL)-*tukḍe*(PL) 'pieces', *juḷ* 'put together' > *juḷwa-juḷəw* 'collecting and arranging', *ram* 'Ram' > *ram-ram* 'Ram Ram (used as a greeting)', *šiwə* 'Shiv' > *šiwə-šiwə* 'Shiv Shiv (old-fashioned: used to express shock, surprise etc. about a bad thing)', *guddha* 'blow' > *guddha-guddhi* 'boxing'.

Adjective:

- (a) *səṇ-səṇ-it* 'with force or with large margin', *dəṇ-dəṇ-it* 'devastating', *kəw-kəw-it* 'not properly sour (curd)', *jhəṇ-jhəṇ-it* 'pungent', *pəc-pəc-it* 'watery', *guḷ-guḷ-it* 'slippery, too soft', *tuḍ-tuḍ-it* 'hard and tough', *wis-wiṣ-it* 'loose or soft in texture', *ṭuṇ-ṭuṇ-it* 'healthy', *luṣ-luṣ-it* 'soft and lustrous', *cun-cun-it* 'smart', *guṭ-guṭ-it* 'plump and healthy', *ḍhəl-ḍhəl-it* 'clear, obvious', *suṭ-suṭ-it* 'compact, short and well-set'. (For *-it*, see 4.2.2.1.)
- (b) *məu* 'soft' > *məu-məu* 'very soft', *lal* 'red' > *lal-lal* 'bright red', *gar* 'cold' > *gar-gar* 'very cold', *un* 'hot' > *un-un* 'very hot', *gəram* 'hot' > *gəram-gəram* 'hot', *gol* 'circular' > *gol-gol* 'round', *jəl* 'burn' > *jəl-jəl-it* 'burning, angry', *gubgub* 'grow fat' (archaic) > *gub-gub-it* 'fluffy', *rəs* 'juice, sap' > *rəs-rəs* 'be full of sap' >

*rās-rās-it* 'full of sap; fresh', *bhus* 'husks' > *bhus-bhuš-it* 'crumbly', *uncā* 'tall' > *uncā-uncā* 'very tall', *god* 'sweet' > *god-god* 'very sweet'.

Verb:

- (a) *lakh-lakh* 'shine', *khaw-khaw* 'have a tickling sensation in throat', *māl-māl* 'feel sick', *cuk-cuk* 'make sound (house lizard)', *wāl-wāl* 'wriggle', *khad-khad* 'rattle', *cām-cām* 'twinkle', *mus-mus* 'sob', *dug-dug* 'move unsteadily', *phat-phat* 'dawn', *wakh-wakh* 'be excessively hungry', *dhad-dhad* '(of heart) palpitate, beat', *duḍ-duḍ* 'walk with quick and short steps', *dum-dum* 'reverberate', *puṭ-puṭ* 'mutter', *gun-gun* 'hum a tune, murmur', *lās-lās* 'glow and gleam, show a strong desire', *gād-gād* 'be sultry'.
- (b) *lāw* 'bend' > *lāw-lāw* 'bend, flicker'.

Adverb:

- (a) *turu-turu* 'trottingly', *luṭu-luṭu* 'falteringly', *su-su* 'with a twang (arrow)', *chān-chān* 'jinglingly', *chām-chām* 'with a sharp sound', *bhād-bhād* / *bhāḍa-bhāḍa* / *bhād-bhāḍa* 'with force, gushingly', *dār-dār-un* 'profusely', *phidi-phidi* 'with giggles', *bāḍa-bāḍa* 'profusely' (disapproval), *dhai-dhai* 'loudly', *dhād-dhād-it* 'outright', *dhāḍa-dhād* '(tumbling) with force', *dhāḍa-dhāḍa* (passing of train) with loud noise', *dāṇ-dāṇ* / *daṇ-daṇ* 'with thumping and stamping of feet', *bhār-bhār* 'quickly', *ṭuṇ-ṭuṇ* 'with hops', *duḍ-duḍ* 'quickly and with short steps', *cāt-cāt* 'quickly', *luṭu-luṭu* 'shakeyly (walk)'.
- (b) *til* 'sesame seed' > *til-til* 'bit by bit with pain', *hālu* 'slowly' > *hālu-hālu* 'gradually', *punha* 'again' > *punha-punha* 'again and again', *wār* 'up, above' > *wār-wār* 'superficially', *dur* 'away' > *dur-dur* 'very far away', *kāsa* 'how' > *kāsa-kāsa* / *kās-kāsa* 'in what way', *ghaḍi* 'moment' > *ghaḍi-ghaḍi* 'every moment'.

In the following reduplicatives the aux-non-finite completive (-un), perfective (-l) and imperfective (-t) forms of verbs are productively used. Many adverbs are formed in this way:

*khod* 'dig' > *khod-un-khod-un* 'pointedly and inquisitively', *wac* 'read' > *wa-un-wac-un* 'by reading a lot', *saṇ* 'tell' > *saṇ-un-saṇ-un* 'by telling again and again', *ja* 'go' > *ja-un-ja-un* 'by going again and again or if one goes at all', *kār* 'do' > *kār-un-kār-un* 'by doing several times', *rah* 'live' > *rah-un-rah-un* 'time and again', *bicāk* 'start, startle' > *bick-āt-bick-āt* 'timidly', *rād* 'cry' > *rād-āt-rād-āt* 'while crying', *hās* 'laugh' > *hās-āt-hās-āt* 'while laughing', *khel* 'play' > *khel-āt-khel-āt* 'while playing, playfully', *cal* 'walk' > *cal-ta-cal-ta* 'while walking', *ja* 'go' > *ja-t-a-ja-t-a* 'at the end while leaving', *ye* 'come' > *a-l-ya-a-l-ya* 'as soon as one comes'.



Pronouns:

- (b) *kuṭhe* 'where' > *kuṭhe-kuṭhe* 'where, in all places', *kādhi* 'when' > *kādhi-kādhi* 'sometimes', *koṇ* 'who' > *koṇ-koṇ* 'who'.

Interjections and particles:

- (b) *are* 'hey' (M) > *are-are* 'oh God !, Ah ! (expressing regret, fear, pity)', *ho* 'yes' > *ho-ho* 'yes sure', *na* 'no' > *na-na* 'not' (persuasive), *che* 'no' > *che-che* 'oh no!, not at all', *hay* 'Ah!' > *hay-hay* 'expression of sorrow'.

#### 4.5.1.2 Addition of vowel *a*

In many reduplicated forms *a* is inserted between the reduplicator and the reduplicand. In most cases the reduplicator is a free morpheme.

Noun:

- (a) *daṇ-a-daṇ* 'rout', *jhakk-a-jhakk* 'quarrel'.  
 (b) *pəl* 'run' > *pəl-a-pəl* 'running frantically', *dhaw* 'run' > *dhaw-a-dhaw* 'bustling', *luṭ* 'plunder' > *luṭ-a-luṭ* 'plundering', *law* 'plant' > *law-a-law* / *law-a-lawi* 'secret instigation', *maṇḍ* 'put, arrange' > *maṇḍ-a-maṇḍ* 'putting, arranging', *rəḍ* 'cry, weep' > *rəḍ-a-rəḍ* / *rəḍ-a-rəḍi* 'crying', *ḍhəkəl* 'push' > *ḍhəkl-a-ḍhəkəl* / *ḍhəkl-a-ḍhəkl-i* 'pushing', *śodh* 'search' > *śodh-a-śodh* 'search', *oḍh* 'pull' > *oḍh-a-oḍh-i* 'pulling', *bac* 'squabble' (archaic) > *bac-a-bac-i* 'heated argument', *ləṭṭhə* 'cudgel' (P-A) (archaic) > *ləṭṭh-a-ləṭṭh-i* 'combat with cudgels or sticks', *luṭ* 'rob' > *luṭ-a-luṭ* 'plunder', *juḷəw* 'put together' > *juḷw-a-juḷəw* 'putting together'.

Most of these reduplicated words are derived from verbs. The reduplication brings the effect of high frequency of the activity.

Adjective:

- (b) *gəram* 'hot' > *gərm-a-gəram* 'very hot'.

Adverb:

- (a) *pəṭ-a-pəṭ* 'quickly', *bhər-a-bhər* 'hurriedly', *səṭ-a-səṭ* 'one after the other', *dəṇ-a-dəṇ* 'with force and loudness', *təṇ-a-təṇ* 'enthusiastically', *gəṭ-a-gəṭ* 'quickly (swallowing)', *phəṭ-a-phəṭ* 'quickly', *khəs-a-khəs-a* 'with force', *gəḍ-a-gəḍ-a* / *gəḍ-gəḍ-a* 'violently (move, shake)', *səp-a-səp* 'vigorously (slash, cut)'.  
 (b) *səmor* 'in front' > *səmor-a-səmor* 'in front of each other'.

#### 4.5.1.3 Addition of vowel *o*

The reduplicator has *o* finally and the reduplicator without *o* is a free morpheme.

Adverb:

*ghar* 'house' > *ghar-o-ghar* 'in every house', *khara* 'true' > *khara-o-khara* 'truly', *rat* 'night' > *rat-o-rat* 'quickly at night', *man* 'mind' > *man-o-man* 'in mind', *bare* 'well' > *bare-o-bare* 'true, correct', *gaw* 'village' > *gaw-o-gaw-i* 'in every village', *rasta* 'road' > *rasta-o-rasta-i* 'on every road', *galli* 'lane' > *galli-o-galli-i* 'in every lane', *pan* 'leaf, page' > *pan-o-pan-i* 'on every page', *pada* 'step' (SK) > *pada-o-pada-i* 'at every step', *jaga* 'place' > *jaga-o-jaga-i* 'at every place'.

#### 4.5.1.4 Addition of vowel *e*

The reduplicator has *e* finally and the reduplicator without *e* is a free morpheme.

Adjective:

*lal* 'red' > *lal-e-lal* 'very red', *gar* 'cold' > *gar-e-gar* 'very cold'.

#### 4.5.1.5 Replacement of consonant in the initial position of the reduplicand

The initial consonant of the reduplicator is replaced by some other consonant in the reduplicand. In (a) the reduplicative has meaning as a whole – the reduplicator is not a morpheme. In (b) the reduplicator is a free morpheme.

Noun:

- (a) *alām-tālām* 'waving', *gaḍ-baḍ* 'commotion', *lag-baḡ* 'hustle and bustle', *albatya-galbatya* 'any Tom, Dick and Harry'.
- (b) *śejari* 'neighbour' > *śejari-pajari* 'neighbour', *limbu* 'lemon fruit' > *limbu-ṭimbu* 'insignificant, minor', *jal* 'burn' > *jal-pol* 'ravages by burning', *uṣṭa* 'left food' > *uṣṭa-maṣṭa* 'used and left-over food', *kiḍuk* 'small ornament' > *kiḍuk-miḍuk* 'small ornament', *god* 'sweet' > *god-dhod* 'sweets'.

Adjective:

- (a) *leca-peca* 'shakey, weak', *saṭar-phat̥ar* 'insignificant', *ḍal-mal-it* 'shakey', *khad-khad-it* 'healthy', *caṅgibhaṅgi* 'pleasure seeking'.
- (b) *citra* 'various' (SK) > *citra-wiṭitra* 'variegated, having a large variety', *ardha* 'half' > *ardha-murdha* 'half', *halḱa* 'of low quality' > *halḱa-salḱa* 'unimportant', *wait* 'bad' > *wait-sait* 'bad', *halḱa* 'light' > *halḱa-phulḱa* 'light, comic'.

Verb:

- (a) *dhus-phus* 'bicker', *kaḍ-maḍ* 'come in when unwanted', *laṭ-paṭ* 'shake, tremble', *tāl-māl* 'roll about in pain', *tāḍ-phāḍ* 'toss about in pain', *gaḡ-baḡ* 'be crowded or busy'.
- (b) *jal* 'burn' > *jal-phal* 'burn with anger'.

Adverb:

- (a) *ar-par* 'straight through', *luṭu-putu* 'as a pretence', *addha-taddha* 'rudely'.
- (b) *cakh* 'taste' > *cakh-ət-makh-ət* 'not eating fully or enough', *sada* 'always' > *sada-n-kada* 'invariably every time' (irregular).

#### 4.5.1.6 The use of *bi*

This is the most productive process of forming a reduplicated form of any word in Marathi. Even words that are already reduplicatives can undergo a second reduplication by this process. The initial consonant and vowel are simply replaced by *bi*. Words beginning with *b* optionally undergo a replacement by *phi*. Often the reduplicative means 'the thing mentioned along with other things'. Examples:

*antār-bintār* 'distance', *at-bit* 'in', *istri-bistri* 'ironing', *upayog-bipayog* 'use', *eki-biki* 'unity', *aiṭ-bit* 'showiness', *oṭa-biṭa* 'small platform', *aut-bit* 'plough', *auṭ-biuṭ* / *auṭ-bit* (E) 'out', *kaṭa-biṭa* 'thorn', *khir-bir* 'a sweet dish made of milk', *gaḍi-biḍi* 'car', *ghar-bir* 'kite', *chitra-bitra* 'picture', *chatri-bitri* 'umbrella', *jina-bina* 'staircase', *jhendā-binda* 'flag', *cāmca-bimca* 'spoon', *jaḍ-biḍ* 'fat', *jhaḍ-biḍ* 'tree', *ṭakkāl-bikkāl* 'bald head', *thar-bir* 'dead', *ḍaḷi-biḷi* 'pulses', *dhosun-bisun* 'after drinking', *tap-bip* 'fever', *thakwa-bikwa* 'exhaustion', *dar-bir* 'door', *dharto-birto* 'catches', *nako-biko* 'no', *paṇi-biṇi* 'water', *phadke-biḍke* 'piece of cloth', *baṭli-phiṭli* / *baṭli-bitṭli* 'bottle', *bhaḍe-biḍe* 'rent', *maḍi-biḍi* 'storey', *yeṇe-biṇe* 'coming', *roj-bij* 'everyday', *leṅga-binga* 'trousers', *wāḍil-biḍil* 'father', *sasa-bisa* 'rabbit', *ṣap-bip* 'curse', *hakkā-bikkā* 'right', *ingliš-bingliš* 'English', *maraṭhi-biraṭhi* 'Marathi language', *lāṭpāt-bitpāt* 'unfair effort', *bāḍbāḍ-biḍbāḍ* 'chattering', *čaha-biha* / *čahabi* 'tea', *rāṅgi-berāṅgi* / *rāṅgi-birāṅgi* 'of various colours' (irregular), *oksa-bokši* 'loudly (crying)' (irregular), *bol-bala* 'unnecessary publicity' (irregular).

#### 4.5.1.7 Reverse reduplication

There are a few words in Marathi where in the reduplicative, the reduplicand is followed by the reduplicator. The reduplicand is a part of the reduplicator. Examples:

*pāṅgāt* 'a row of persons taking food' > *aṅgāt* (reduplicand)-*pāṅgāt* (reduplicator) 'a row or circle of children sharing and eating food together which they have brought from their homes', *niraḷa* 'different' > *nir-niraḷa* 'many different', *wegḷe* 'different' > *weg-wegḷe* 'many different', *sanaṭa* (N) 'eagerness, vehemence' (archaic) > *sānsanaṭi* (ADJ) 'exciting'.

#### 4.5.2 Semantic reduplication

Instead of repeating the same word twice as under (b) in 4.5.1.1, two synonyms are often used as reduplicator and reduplicand in Marathi. Their abundance in the case of nouns will explain the paucity of formations under ‘noun’ in 4.5.1.1 (b). The use of synonyms however does not indicate excess or higher frequency or higher degree. The meaning is the same as that of a single word.

Noun:

*khyali* ‘fun, merriment’ (P-A) + *khušali* ‘healthy state’ > *khyali-khušali* ‘well being’, *ker* ‘rubbish’ + *kācra* ‘waste’ > *ker-kācra* ‘rubbish, waste’, *bag* ‘garden’ + *bagiça* ‘small garden’ > *bag-bagiça* ‘garden’, *khan* ‘eating’ + *pan* ‘drinking’ > *khan-pan* ‘eating’, *khaṇe* ‘eating’ + *piṇe* ‘drinking’ > *khaṇe-piṇe* ‘eating’, *jhaḍ* ‘tree’ + *jhuḍup* ‘bush’ > *jhaḍ-jhuḍup* ‘plant’, *məuj* ‘fun’ + *məja* ‘fun’ > *məuj-məja* ‘fun’, *saph* ‘clean’ + *səphai* ‘cleaning’ > *saphsəphai* ‘cleaning’, *aḍhe* ‘loops’ + *wedhe* ‘rings’ > *aḍhe-wedhe* ‘hesitation’, *jhaḍ* ‘sweep’ + *loṭ* ‘push’ > *jhaḍ-loṭ* ‘cleaning’, *adā!* ‘hit against’ + *apəṭ* ‘bang’ > *adā!apəṭ* ‘banging’, *sone* ‘gold’ + *naṇe* ‘coins’ > *sone-naṇe* ‘cash wealth’, *pāisa* ‘money’ + *āḍka* ‘coin’ > *pāisa-āḍka* ‘money’, *dag* ‘an item’ + *dagine* ‘ornaments’ > *dag-dagine* ‘ornaments’, *jewəṇ* ‘meal’ + *khaṇ* ‘eating’ > *jewəṇ-khaṇ* ‘board’, *hal* ‘suffering’ + *apeṣṭa* ‘failure’ > *hal-apeṣṭa* ‘suffering’, *bajar* ‘market’ + *haṭ* ‘market’ > *bajar-haṭ* ‘market’, *puja* ‘worship’ + *ərcā* ‘adoration’ > *puja-ərcā* ‘worship’, *mulā* ‘children’ + *baḷā* ‘infants’ > *mulā-baḷā* ‘children’, *pəḍ* ‘fall’ + *jhaḍ* ‘shed’ > *pəḍjhaḍ* ‘dilapidation’, *wel* ‘time’ + *kaḷ* ‘bad time’ > *wel-kaḷ* ‘bad time’, *nəndi* ‘bullock’ + *bəil* ‘bullock’ > *nəndi-bəil* ‘bullock, dull person’, *cal* ‘walk’ + *ḍhəkəl* ‘push’ > *cal-ḍhəkəl* ‘postponement, shirking’, *səḍa* ‘single, unmarried’ + *phaṭiṇ* ‘one without family’ > *səḍa-phaṭiṇ* ‘a single man without any family responsibility’, *upas* ‘fast’ + *tapas* (from *tap* ‘religious austerity’) > *upas-tapas* ‘fast, fasting’.

Adjective:

*juna* ‘old’ + *purāṇa* ‘ancient’ > *juna-purāṇa* ‘very old’, *ughḍa* ‘bare, open’ + *nagḍa* ‘naked’ > *ughḍa-nagḍa* ‘uncovered’, *phuṭka* ‘broken’ + *tuṭka* ‘cut’ > *phuṭka-tuṭka* ‘totally broken’, *sadha* ‘simple’ + *sudha* (from *śuddha*) ‘pure’ > *sadha-sudha* ‘simple, straightforward’, *wait* ‘bad, evil’ + *wawge* ‘inappropriate’ > *wait-wawge* ‘bad’, *ghəṇā* ‘thick’ (SK) + *daṭ* ‘thick’ > *ghəṇadaṭ* ‘very thick’, *lamb* ‘long’ + *lēcək* (from *lāwācīk*) ‘supple’ > *lamb-lēcək* ‘long’, *lamba* ‘long’ + *cəwḍa* ‘extended’ > *lamba-cəwḍa* ‘very long’, *paṇḍhra* ‘white’ + *səphed* (P-A) / *šubhrā* (SK) ‘white’ > *paṇḍhra-səphed* / *-šubhrā* ‘very white’.

Adverb:

*adun* ‘first’ + *məḍhun* ‘in the middle’ > *adhun-məḍhun* ‘sometimes, occasionally’, *ubha* ‘standing, straight’ + *taṭh* ‘straight’ > *ubha-taṭh* > ‘in an upright position’.

## 4.6 Intensifiers

### 4.6.1 Function

Intensifiers are used to heighten the effect of the quality expressed by the word. (For intensifiers that are particles see 3.8.2 and also 4.5.1.1.)

#### 4.6.1.1 *Adjectives*

Intensifiers normally go with adjectives. They may precede or follow the adjectives. In the following examples adjectives precede intensifiers:

##### (a) Colour terms

Colour terms	Intensifier
<i>lal</i> / <i>tambḍa</i> 'red'	<i>bhəḍək</i> / <i>cuṭuk</i> / <i>bundə</i> 'very red'
<i>hirwa</i> 'green'	<i>gar</i> 'very green'
<i>piwḷa</i> 'yellow'	<i>dhəmək</i> / <i>jərdə</i> 'very yellow'
<i>niḷa</i> 'blue'	<i>šar</i> 'bright blue'
<i>paṇḍhra</i> 'white'	<i>səphed</i> / <i>šubhrə</i> / <i>phəṭək</i> / <i>phəṭphəṭit</i> 'very white'
<i>kaḷa</i> 'black'	<i>kuṭṭ</i> / <i>kəbhinnə</i> / <i>kəccə</i> / <i>ṭhiikkər</i> / <i>bhor</i> / <i>kuḷkuḷit</i> / <i>ḍhussə</i> / <i>bəḍḍu</i> 'very black'

##### (b) Taste

Taste	Intensifier
<i>kəḍu</i> 'bitter'	<i>jəhər</i> 'very bitter'
<i>kharəṭ</i> 'salty'	<i>ghoṭ</i> 'very salty'
<i>goḍ</i> 'sweet'	<i>miṭṭə</i> 'very sweet'
<i>ambəṭ</i> 'sour'	<i>ḍhəssə</i> / <i>ḍhon</i> 'very sour'
<i>tikhəṭ</i> 'hot'	<i>jaḷ</i> 'very hot'

##### (c) Human features

Human features	Intensifier
<i>gora</i> 'fair, white' (skin)	<i>pan</i> 'very white'
<i>ləmbu</i> 'tall'	<i>taṇ</i> 'very tall'
<i>ṭheyṇi</i> 'short' (F)	<i>ṭhuski</i> 'very short'
<i>məu</i> 'soft'	<i>sut</i> 'very mild or submissive'
<i>buṭṭa</i> 'short' > <i>buṭ</i>	<i>bəṇḡəṇ</i> 'very short, pigmy'
<i>ughḍa</i> 'bare'	<i>bəmbə</i> 'totally bare'

## (d) Other adjectives

<i>kora</i> 'blank'	<i>karkarit</i> 'brand new'
<i>kordā</i> 'dry'	<i>ṭhaṇṭhaṇit</i> 'very dry'
<i>ola</i> 'wet'	<i>ṭimbā</i> 'very wet'

## (e) In the following the intensifier precedes the adjective:

Intensifier	Adjective	
<i>ṭhar</i>	<i>bāhira</i> 'deaf'	'totally deaf'

## 4.6.1.2 Verb

(a) To intensify the action expressed by the verb, reduplicatives are used as intensifiers with some verbs. They function like adverbs. They are onomatopoeic and normally they precede the verbs:

Intensifier	Verb	
<i>cālcāḷa</i>	<i>kap</i> 'tremble'	'shake terribly'
<i>phāḷphāḷa</i>	<i>mut</i> 'urinate'	'urinate profusely' (usually out of fear)
<i>khādkhāda</i>	<i>hās</i> 'laugh'	'laugh loudly'
<i>ḍhāsḍhāsa</i>	<i>rāḍ</i> 'cry'	'cry without stopping'
<i>bādabāda</i>	<i>bol</i> 'talk'	'talk too much'
<i>khāsakhāsa</i>	<i>ghas</i> 'scrub'	'scrub with force'
<i>bhāḍabhāḍa</i>	<i>ok</i> 'vomit'	'vomit profusely'
<i>gāḍbāḍa</i>	<i>lol</i> 'roll'	'roll on the ground in pain'

(b) By using the reduplicative of the verb-stem before the verb which is durative, the act is intensified as in:<sup>8</sup>

- (32) *to khakha kha-to*  
 he-MSG INTSF eat-IMPF-3MSG  
 'He eats voraciously.'

- (33) *ti rāḍrāḍ rāḍ-li*  
 she-FSG INTSF cry-PERF-3FSG  
 'she cried profusely.'

## 4.6.1.3 Noun

Nouns rarely take intensifiers except in cases such as *phāṭ-phāṭiti* 'total disgrace', but some nouns are preceded by the word *mārṇā* 'death' + POSS for intensification: *mārṇāci thāṇḍi* 'very cold', *mārṇāci tāhan* 'extreme thirst', *mārṇāci gārdi* 'terrible crowd'.

## 4.7 Diminutives

### 4.7.1 Diminutive suffixes

Nouns have diminutive forms that show smallness and/or endearment. The diminutive noun is formed through suffixation. In the following examples both the base noun and its diminutive form are given.

*i:*

*arsa* ‘mirror’ > *arši* ‘small mirror or spectacles’, *guṇḍa* ‘ball of thread, cord etc.’ > *guṇḍi* ‘small roll or button’, *khəlga* ‘pit’ > *khəlgi* ‘small pit as on the cheek or stomach’, *daṇḍa* ‘bar’ > *daṇḍi* ‘small bar’, *wāḍa* ‘a spicy, fried food item’ > *wāḍi* ‘small flat cake’, *təpele* ‘big water vessel’ > *təpeli* ‘small vessel’, *loṭa* ‘a big pot for drinking water’ > *loṭi* ‘small water pot’, *wadga* ‘big bowl’ > *waṭi* ‘small bowl’, *dor* ‘rope’ > *dori* ‘thin rope’, *naḍa* ‘strong, big rope’ > *naḍi* ‘thin band’, *pəṭṭa* ‘belt’ > *pəṭṭi* ‘small strip’, *gola* ‘big round lump’ > *goḷi* ‘small round thing’, *sura* ‘knife’ > *suri* ‘small knife’, *jhāra* ‘stream of water’ > *jhuri* ‘small stream of water’, *sup* ‘winnowing pan’ > *supli* ‘small winnowing pan’, *diwa* ‘lamp’ > *diwṭi* ‘small lamp’, *budhla* ‘big bottle’ > *budhli* ‘small bottle’, *puḍa* ‘packet’ > *puḍi* ‘very small packet’, *šimpla* ‘shell’ > *šimpli* ‘small shell’, *šeṇḍa* ‘top’ > *šeṇḍi* ‘small tuft of hair, grass etc.’

All these diminutive nouns are feminine.

*ke / kə:*

*ḍhol* ‘drum’ > *ḍhol-ke* ‘small drum’, *puḍa* ‘packet’ > *puḍ-ke* ‘a small packet’.

*ḍi:*

*pote* ‘sack’ > *pota-ḍi* ‘small sack’, *təbək* ‘a kind of round plate’ > *təbək-ḍi* ‘small plate or disk’, *kat* ‘sheath of a snake’ > *katā-ḍi* ‘skin’.

*ḍe / ḍə:*

*ṭop / ṭopi* ‘wig / cap’ > *ṭop-ḍe* ‘small cap of a baby’, *əṅga* ‘garment’ > *əṅg-ḍe* ‘a small garment for a child’, *ḍāba* ‘tin’ > *ḍāb-ḍe* ‘small tin’, *kat* ‘sheath of a snake’ > *katāḍe* ‘skin’.

*ru:*

*meṇḍha* ‘lamb’ > *meṇḍh-ru* ‘young lamb’, *lek* ‘son or daughter’ > *lek-ru* ‘child’, *šing* ‘horn’ > *šing-ru* ‘young mule, colt’, *miši* ‘moustache’ > *mis-ruḍ* ‘sprouting moustache’.

li:

*taṭ* ‘big plate’ > *taṭ-li* ‘dish, small plate’, *jibh* ‘tongue’ > *jibh-li* ‘small tongue’, *tambya* ‘water pot’ > *tamb-li* ‘small waterpot’, *may* ‘mother’ > *mau-li* ‘mother (endearment term)’.

It is possible to have two diminutive forms with decreasing size but the markers are not related to the degree of smallness. Compare the following forms arranged in order of diminishing size: *ṭop* – *ṭopi* – *ṭopḍe*, *puḍa* – *puḍke* – *puḍi*. On the other hand *katāḍi* and *katāḍe* do not differ in size.

## 4.8 Unique morphemes

### 4.8.1 Gooseberry type morphemes

‘Gooseberry’ type words in which ‘goose’ [gu:z] is a unique morpheme are very rare. Marathi, however, has a special characteristic of having quite a number of ‘gooseberries’. Grammarians and lexicographers have hardly paid attention to this phenomenon. We will take into account verb phrases, idioms and expressions in which such unique morphemes occur. The unique morpheme is isolated at the end of each example. It is difficult to state its exact meaning outside the expression and it is hardly used on its own.<sup>9</sup>

<i>tawḍ-it sapḍ</i>	‘get enslaved in the clutches of’ ( <i>tawḍ</i> )
<i>khənpəṭ-i-la bəs</i>	‘nag’ ( <i>khənpəṭ</i> )
<i>kakhoṭ-i-s mar</i>	‘hold under one’s arm’ ( <i>kakhoṭ</i> )
<i>khijgəṇt-i-t nəs</i>	‘not to be for one’s serious consideration’ ( <i>khijgəṇt</i> )
<i>bittəm-batmi</i>	‘the whole story/news’ ( <i>bittəm</i> ) <sup>10</sup>
<i>lagi lag</i>	‘be on the right path in life’ ( <i>lagi</i> / <i>lag</i> ) <sup>11</sup>
<i>ḍhunḍkun nə pah</i>	‘not to pay any attention’ ( <i>ḍhunḍ</i> )
<i>taw-un sulakh-un</i>	‘carefully examining’ ( <i>tawṇe</i> , <i>sulakhṇe</i> ) <sup>12</sup>
<i>dhay mokl-un rəḍ</i>	‘set free a wild outcry – cry loudly’ ( <i>dhay mokəl</i> )
<i>saṅg-un səwr-un</i>	‘by openly telling’ ( <i>səwər</i> )
<i>śik-l-a səwər-lel-a</i>	‘learned and educated’ ( <i>səwər</i> )
<i>rikam-ṭekḍa</i>	‘idle, one who has no work’ ( <i>ṭekḍa</i> ) <sup>13</sup>
<i>sawḷa gondhəl</i>	‘tumult, confusion’ ( <i>sawḷa</i> ) <sup>14</sup>
<i>wəṭhṇ-i-s aṇ / ye</i>	‘set a person right, bring a person to a state of subjection’ ( <i>wəṭhṇ</i> ) <sup>15</sup>
<i>kakuḷt-i-s ye</i>	‘make a pitiful moaning or complaining’ ( <i>kakuḷət</i> )
OR <i>kakuḷti kər</i>	
<i>məuḷe wəḍgaw</i>	‘the village Wadgaon’ ( <i>məuḷe</i> )



<i>niḍhəl-a-ca gham</i>	‘sweat on the forehead’ ( <i>niḍhəl</i> )
<i>hastā-samudrik</i>	‘science of reading marks on the palm’ ( <i>samudrik</i> )
<i>ṭhewṇ-it-la šalu</i>	‘an expensive garment kept as a treasure’ ( <i>ṭhewṇ</i> )
<i>jire-ṭop</i>	‘a special type of crown’ ( <i>jire</i> )
<i>ḍomṇbhār</i>	‘a lot – as much as the water in a puddle’ ( <i>ḍomṇ</i> )
<i>dawanəl</i>	‘fire in the forest’ ( <i>dawa</i> )
<i>tirkāmṭha</i>	‘bow and arrow’ ( <i>kāmṭha</i> )
<i>taja-tāwana</i>	‘fresh’ ( <i>tāwana</i> ) <sup>16</sup>
<i>maj-ghār</i>	‘central portion of a house’ ( <i>maj</i> )
<i>kele tuka jhale maka</i>	‘I tried to hurt you but’ ( <i>tuka</i> ) ‘instead I got hurt’ ( <i>maka</i> )
<i>lākḍi-wacun mākḍi wəl-ət nahi</i>	(proverb) ‘A female monkey does not turn without a stick: a person does not obey unless there is punishment’ ( <i>mākḍi</i> )
<i>gəyawəya kər</i>	‘supplicate’ ( <i>gəyawəya</i> )
<i>mārath-moḷa</i>	‘of Maratha style’ ( <i>moḷa</i> )
<i>jāmin-jumla</i>	‘estate, land property’ ( <i>jumla</i> ) <sup>17</sup>
<i>phail-a-wər ghe</i>	‘rebuke, take someone to task’ ( <i>phail</i> ) <sup>18</sup>
<i>həḍəp kər</i>	‘grab’ ( <i>həḍəp</i> ) <sup>19</sup>
<i>jeris ye / aṇ</i>	‘trouble, enfeeble’ ( <i>jer</i> )
<i>bayk-at puruṣ lamboḍa</i>	(proverb) ‘a man in a group of women’ ( <i>lamboḍa</i> )
<i>nikərači ləḍhai</i>	‘fierce battle’ ( <i>nikər</i> )
<i>ḍole wətar</i>	‘glare at’ ( <i>wətar</i> )
<i>dimt-i-la əs</i>	‘be present to take someone’s care, serve someone’ ( <i>dimmat</i> ) <sup>20</sup>

It is interesting to note that almost half of the items in the list above are verb phrases.

## Notes

1. Words such as *susāṅgati* ‘coherence’, *suswagātām* ‘good welcome’ prove that *swagātām* and *sāṅgati* are taken as basic words and not as derived words.
2. *kər* and *kəri* are not used in Sanskrit but they are related to Sanskrit *-kar*. In Marathi any place noun + *kər* means ‘resident of that place’ or ‘a person who comes from that place’. Hundreds of surnames are formed in Marathi using this formation. These surnames are a rich source for tracing the old geographical names.
3. Damle ([1911] 1970) calls all derivations derived from verbs *krudāntā*.
4. V+Infinitive *-ṇā / -ṇe* is used as a noun which indicates the activity: *utār* ‘descend’ > *utār-ṇe / utār-ṇā* ‘descending’. Addition of *-ṇ* in some cases also gives a noun with a slightly different meaning: *utār-ṇ* ‘descent, slope’. In some cases the Infinitive *-ṇā / -ṇe* itself gets two different but related meanings: *gaḷ* ‘strain’ > *gaḷ-ṇe* ‘act of straining’ or ‘strainer’; *ulāth* ‘turn upside down’ > *ulāth-ṇā* ‘turning upside down’ or ‘a kitchen instrument for turning things upside down’. *-ṇara* is an extension of *-ṇar* that indicates the person who does the action: *utār-ṇara*

'one who descends'. Damle (1911) treats the Aspectual Prospective *-nar* form also as an Adjective. Tarkhadkar (1836) calls it a verbal form. Damle argues that the *-nar* form is the only form used for all subjects. *-nar* + Be is therefore a compound verb for him.

5. V. D. Savarkar (1938) was the first to observe that all modern IndoAryan languages are very poor in their stock of verbs. That is the reason why the Phrasal Verb (N+V) structure is very common in Marathi. Sawarkar proposes to use nouns as verbs.

What Savarkar calls a weakness, however is strength of Marathi. There are a few heavy-duty verbs in Marathi such as *kār* 'do', *lag* 'begin', *ās* 'be', *thēw* 'put', *raha* 'stay', *ghe* 'take', *mar* 'hit', *ye* 'come', *añ* 'bring' etc. that are used to form verbs from any nouns. This is very convenient especially in borrowed words, which are usually nouns or adjectives. Consider the following: *ṭaip kār* 'type', *ṣāt ghe* 'shoot (a scene)', *intrest ghe* 'take interest', *ābsent rah* 'be absent', *kāpi kadh* 'copy', *hausphul ās* 'be fully packed', *bājet mañḍ* 'present budget', *āpāreṣān kār* 'operate', *marketiñ kār* 'market', *sel law* 'be on sale', *ḍiskaunt de* 'give discount', *hāllagulla kār* 'be unruly', *chutṭi kār* 'kill'.

6. There are no convincing semantic or syntactic reasons as to why certain verbs do not take the causative form. The number of arguments the verb requires, the semantic features of verbs such as stative or non-developing, orientation, intention, punctual, iterative do not decide whether a verb would take *-aw* to be a causative verb. For example: *rāḍ* 'cry' has a causative form but *thunḡk* 'spit' does not. Similarly, *poh* 'swim' has a causative form but not *bol* 'speak', *ok* 'vomit'. (durative) *pāl* 'run', *has* 'laugh' (punctual), *rāḍ* 'cry' (developing), *cāmcām* 'twinkle' (iterative), *phēk* 'throw' (intent) have causative forms but *bol* 'speak' (punctual), *kha* 'eat' (developing), *puṭpuṭ* 'mutter' (iterative), *tañ* 'stretch' (intent) do not have causative forms.

7. There seems to be a kind of what Halle (1973) calls phonological conditioning for morphological rules. The reduplicated bound or free morpheme cannot end in any aspirated stop or a palatal sound. The final sound preferred is a retroflex sound, or a bilabial sound or a nasal sound or *r*, *s*, *w* or a vowel.

8. Tarkhadkar (1836) treats words such as *cukbhul* 'error', *ṣeṭṣawkar* 'moneyed people', *bhaṭipala* 'vegetables', *ānnā-pani* 'food and water', *ne-añ* 'export and import' as cases of reduplication. They are rather cases of compounds that are formed by conjoining the two constituents by *añi* 'and'. Damle ([1911] 1970) objects to Tarkhadkar's treatment of these words but treats words such as *goḍ-c-goḍ* 'very sweet', *dudhā-c-dudh* 'a lot of milk', *kam na dham* 'no work', *cāw na ḍhāw* 'no taste' as reduplicatives. The particle *c* indicates however a simple conjoining: *goḍ aṅkhi goḍ* 'sweet and more sweet', *dudh aṅkhināc dudh* 'milk and more milk'. *nā* is a negative particle, which also indicates conjoining: *kam nahi aṅi dham nahi* 'no work and no place'. *cāwḍhāw* 'taste' is a reduplicative of consonantal replacement type. In *cāw na ḍhāw* 'neither *cāw* nor *ḍhāw* the reduplicative is split making *ḍhāw* a separate word.

9. Molesworth (1857) calls such words obsolete and tries to give their origin and original meanings. In modern Marathi these words however do not have any meaning outside the stock expressions.

10. Molesworth (1857) gives *bittām* as an Arabic adjective with the meaning 'true, correct'.

11. *lag* has ten meanings in Molesworth (1857). Most of them are obsolete in modern Marathi. The meaning 'intention, way, aim' which is suitable for the idiom is lost.

12. *sulākh* in Molesworth (1857) means 'to bore gold coins in proving them.' The word is obsolete. *taw* is not given by Molesworth.

13. *rikamtekda* cannot be treated as a compound or as a reduplicative. *tekdi* in Marathi means 'hill' but that has nothing to do with *rikamtekda*. Molesworth (1858) tries to relate it to *rikamcawdi* 'a meeting place of idlers' but that is not convincing.
14. *gondhəl* may be related to a religious folk musical performance. *sawla* for Molesworth (1857) means 'a cheap piece of women's clothing' – *lugde*. But the cultural context of *sawla* *gondhəl* remains unexplained.
15. Molesworth (1857) traces it to an obsolete verb *wəṭh* but does not give its meaning. From *wəṭh* one can derive a noun *wəṭh-ṇi* without any guarantee for its relation to the verbal meaning. Compare *phod* (V) – *phod-ṇi* (see 4.1.2.3).
16. Molesworth (1857) gives *təwan* as a verb with the meaning 'recover health'. The verb is obsolete.
17. Molesworth (1857) traces the word to its Arabic origin where it means 'total' or 'sum'.
18. Molesworth (1857) gives *phəl* as an Arabic word meaning 'libertine, loose practice'. But this has nothing to do with 'rebuke'.
19. Molesworth's (1857) meaning of *həḍəp* as 'security, deposit' is not retained in the Phrasal Verb.
20. Molesworth (1857) gives *dimmat* as a borrowing from Arabic with the meaning 'care, change'.



## CHAPTER 5

# Subject and agreement

### 5.0 Agreement dilemma

In Marathi, nominative case and verb agreement are linked in an intricate fashion. The linking is at odds with the traditional nominative–accusative frameworks of European languages in which a nominative cased NP is allotted the subject status by virtue of its agreement with the verb. The Marathi verb obligatorily agrees with the unmarked NP, which may be the nominative subject as in (1), the direct object as in (2), or even the theme NP in a dative subject construction as in (3). A sole exception to this rule is a non-perfective sentence with an unmarked inanimate object as in (1). In this case, verb agrees with the subject NP.

Verb agreement is cued to the gender, number and person of the unmarked NP as seen in (1)–(3). It becomes neutral in the absence of an unmarked NP as in (4). In short, the verb does not agree with a marked NP whatever its function may be.

- (1) *lili      čenḍu      phək-t-e.*  
Lili-F ball-MSG throw-IMPF-FSG  
'Lili throws a ball.'
- (2) *lili-ni      čenḍu      phək-l-a.*  
Lili-ERG ball-MSG throw-PERF-MSG  
'Lili threw a ball.'
- (3) *lili-la      čenḍu      awəḍ-l-a.*  
Lili-DAT ball-MSG like-PERF-MSG  
'Lili liked the ball.'
- (4) *lili-ni      babu-la      bolaw-l-ə.*  
Lili-ERG Babu-DAT call-PERF-NSG  
'Lili called Babu.'

## 5.1 Agreement resolution

Verb agreement with an object NP as in (2) created a problem in deciding the status of subject in the traditional framework. (See Case 3.1.3.) However, the problem is resolved if the case system in Marathi is properly analyzed within the current ergative case theories (Dixon (1979, 1994; Bobaljik 1993) and some others. The hallmark of an ergative system is that it treats the subject of a transitive verb differently from that of an intransitive verb and aligns the properties of the intransitive subject such as case and agreement with the transitive object. In a nominative accusative system, the properties of the intransitive subject align with the transitive subject.

Now it has been recognized for some time that Marathi, Kashmiri, Hindi and some other Indic languages have two case systems, namely nominative-accusative and ergative that exist side by side. These languages encode a split ergative system. In Marathi, the ergative features become visible in the agreement system in certain contexts such as: (i) the perfective aspect of the transitive verb, and (ii) obligative-desiderative-subjunctive of both intransitive and transitive verbs. In these constructions, the subject is marked ergative and the inanimate direct object is in the nominative controlling the agreement. The object thus aligns with the intransitive subject. All other contexts display the nominative accusative pattern when the subject of both intransitive and transitive verbs is in the nominative and controls the agreement. The ergative analysis explains the agreement in (2). The subject is marked ergative in (2) and (4). The distribution of nominative and ergative case is shown in the following sections.

### 5.1.1 Non-perfective aspect

In the non-perfective aspect, i.e. imperfective/present and future, subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs are in the nominative as in (5), (6). Object marking is cued to animacy. Inanimate direct objects are in the nominative as in (6). In contrast the animate direct as well as the indirect object are marked by the dative as in (7), (8). The verb agrees with the nominative subject. It does not agree with the nominative object as seen in (6). These sentences clearly show a nominative-accusative agreement pattern. Agreement is with the subject.

- (5) *lili dhaw-t-e.*

Lili-F run-IMPV-FSG

‘Lili runs/Lili is running.’

- (6) *lili bhat kha-t-e.*  
 Lili-FSG rice-MSG eat-IMP-FSG  
 ‘Lili eats rice.’
- (7) *lili babu-la bolaw-t-e.*  
 Lili-FSG Babu-DAT call-IMP-FSG  
 ‘Lili calls Babu.’
- (8) *lili babu-la pustak de-t-e.*  
 Lili-FSG Babu-DAT book-NSG give-IMP-FSG  
 ‘Lili gives a book to Babu.’

### 5.1.2 Perfective aspect

In the perfective aspect, intransitive subjects are in the nominative and show agreement with the verb as in (9). Transitive subjects are marked with the ergative suffix *ne/ni*. Object marking is similar to the one in the imperfective, but not the agreement. The verb shows agreement with the unmarked direct object as exemplified in both (10) and (11). If the direct object is in the dative case, the verb shows neutral agreement as in (12). Marked direct objects are mostly animates as noted above. (See 5.3. below for the quirkiness of object marking.)

- (9) *lili həs-l-i.*  
 Lili-F laugh-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Lili laughed.’
- (10) *lili-ni dægəð phək-l-a.*  
 Lili-ERG stone-MSG throw-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Lili threw a stone.’
- (11) *lili-ni babu-la ti wəhi di-l-i.*  
 Lili-ERG Babu-DAT that notebook-FSG give-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Lili gave that note book to Babu.’
- (12) *lili-ni babu-la bolaw-l-ə.*  
 Lili-ERG Babu-DAT call-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili called Babu.’

### 5.1.3 Obligative-desiderative/subjunctive

In the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive (see 3.4.4.3), the subject is marked ergative with both intransitive and transitive predicates as in (13)–(15).<sup>1</sup> Agreement follows the perfective pattern. The verb agrees with an unmarked NP if there is one, otherwise it shows neutral agreement. This is clearly exemplified in (14), (15).

- (13) *lili-ne hāsa-w-ə.*  
 Lili-ERG laugh-DESI-NSG  
 ‘Lili should laugh.’
- (14) *lili-ne dāgəḍ pheka-w-a.*  
 Lili-ERG stone-MSG throw-DESI-MSG  
 ‘Lili should throw a stone.’
- (15) *lili-ne babu-la bolwa-w-e/ə.*  
 Lili-ERG Babu-DAT call-DESI-NSG  
 ‘Lili should call/invite Babu.’

#### 5.1.4 Pronominals

First and second person subject pronouns exhibit a unique agreement pattern in both the perfective, and the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive. It is a mix of nominative and ergative agreement features. The subject pronouns are marked nominative in both the non-perfective and the perfective aspect. They fail to show the expected ergative case. In the non-perfective, the agreement is with the subject pronoun as in (16), (17), (18), (19).

- (16) *mi bhat kha-t-e.*  
 I-FSG rice-3MSG eat-IMPF-1FSG  
 ‘I eat rice.’
- (17) *tu bhat kha-t-es.*  
 you-FSG rice-3MSG eat-IMPF-2FSG  
 ‘You eat rice.’
- (18) *mi babu-la bolaw-t-e.*  
 I-FSG Babu-DAT call-IMPF-1FSG  
 ‘I call Babu.’
- (19) *tu babu-la bolaw-t-es.*  
 you-FSG Babu-DAT call-IMPF-2FSG  
 ‘You call Babu.’

In the perfective and the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive the verb agrees with the direct object if it is in the nominative, otherwise it shows neutral agreement thus following the ergative agreement pattern as in (20)–(23). These pronouns accordingly behave as if they were overtly marked for ergative.<sup>2</sup> (See pronoun paradigms in Chapter 3.)



- (20) *mi bhat kha-ll-a.*  
 I rice-MSG eat-PERF-MSG  
 'I ate rice.'
- (21) *tu bhat kha-ll-a-s.*<sup>2</sup>  
 you rice-MSG eat-PERF-MSG-2SG  
 'You ate rice.'
- (22) *mi babu-la bolaw-l-ə.*  
 I Babu-DAT call-PERF-NSG  
 'I called Babu.'
- (23) *tu babu-la bolaw-lə-s.*  
 you Babu-DAT call-PERF-NSG-2SG  
 'You called Babu.'

## 5.2 Subjects

### 5.2.1 Nominative and ergative subjects

Nominative subjects are found with both intransitive and transitive verbs with certain restrictions. All intransitives mark their subject in the nominative in all tenses and aspects with the exception of the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive, which requires an ergative subject as exemplified in (13) above. The subjects of transitive verbs are cued to the animate/inanimate distinction. Transitive verbs do not allow inanimate subjects in any tense or aspect. Inanimate agency/cause is marked with the postposition *ne/muḷe* 'due to' in all aspects. The verb remains intransitive (see (24), (25)). Animate subjects are marked nominative in the non-perfective as in (27), (28). Inanimate direct objects are marked with the nominative as in (27) while the animate direct objects are marked with the dative *la* as in (28). Notice that the verb is transitive in both the examples.<sup>3</sup>

- (24) *warya-ne/muḷe arsa phuṭ-t-o.*  
 wind-PP mirror-MSG break-IMPF-3MSG  
 'Mirror breaks due to the wind.'
- (25) *warya-ne/muḷe arsa phuṭ-l-a.*  
 wind-PP mirror-MSG break-PERF-3MSG  
 'Mirror broke due to the wind.'

## Transitive verb

- (26) \*warya-ne arsa phoḍ-l-a.  
wind-ERG mirror break-PERF-3MSG  
'The wind broke the mirror.'
- (27) lili arsa phoḍ-t-e.  
Lili-FSG mirror-MSG break-IMPF-FSG  
'Lili breaks the mirror.'
- (28) lili babu-la ragaw-t-e.  
Lili-FSG Babu-DAT scold-IMPF-NSG  
'Lili scolds Babu.'

Ergative subjects are conditioned by transitivity, aspect and modality. The subjects of intransitive verbs are marked ergative only in the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive as in (30). The animate subjects of most transitive verbs are marked ergative in the perfective as well as obligative-desiderative/subjunctive as in (30)–(32).<sup>4</sup> A notable exception to transitive ergative subjects comes from the first and second person pronouns. These always take the nominative case as noted above although they show ergative agreement.

## Intransitive subjects

- (29) lili gowya-la ge-l-i.  
Lili-FSG Gova-PP go-PERF-FSG  
'Lili went to Goa.'
- (30) lili-ne gowya-la ja-w-e.  
Lili-ERG Gova-PP go-DESI-NSG  
'Lili should go to Goa.'

## Transitive subjects

- (31) lili-ne babu-la bolaw-l-e.  
Lili-ERG Babu-DAT call-PERF-NSG  
'Lili called Babu.'
- (32) lili-ne babu-la bolwa-w-e.  
Lili-ERG Babu-DAT call-DESI-NSG  
'Lili should call Babu.'

In sum, the ergative marking in the perfective is confined to transitive verbs with certain exceptions. It has a nominative counterpart in the non-perfective. Ergative marking in the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive is found with both intransitive

and transitive predicates. A nominative counterpart exists only in the intransitive as in (33). Note that this nominative counterpart conveys only the epistemic sense. It has no obligative value. Clearly, the ergative has a strong semantic value. The ergative marked NP is often glossed as an ‘Agent’ in many Indian grammar books. However, agent is not a syntactic notion. In generative grammar agent has no case value. The notion agent denotes a theta value. Ergative case is a universally accepted notion, though its manifestation varies from language to language. It has the same subject value as the nominative.

- (33) *lili dhawa-w-i.*  
 Lili-FSG run-DESI-FSG  
 ‘May Lili run.’

#### 5.2.1.1 Grammatical properties

Ergative subjects behave exactly like nominative subjects with respect to several grammatical rules which control reflexives, passives and some others. (See Wali 2004.) However, they differ in the control of the relative participial.

#### Control of reflexives

Marathi has two reflexives, namely, *swatah* and *apan* with slightly different distribution. (See Chapter 11 for details.) Both nominative and ergative subjects control both these reflexives as seen in (34) and (35).

- (34) a. *ti babu-la swata-wišəyi sang-t-e.*  
 she-NOM Babu-DAT self-about tell-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘She tells Babu about herself.’  
 b. *ti-ni babu-la swata-wišəyi sangi-t-l-a.*  
 she-ERG Babu-DAT self-about tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘She told Babu about herself.’
- (35) a. *ti babu-la aplya-wišəyi sang-t-e.*  
 she-NOM Babu-DAT self-about tell-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘She tells Babu about herself.’  
 b. *ti-ni babu-la aplya-wišəyi sangit-l-a.*  
 she-ERG Babu-DAT self-about tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘She told Babu about herself.’

#### Control in transitive passive verbs

Demoted nominative and ergative subjects take the same postposition *kaḍun* and promote the direct object to subject as in (36a), (36b). Both allow the demoted subject to delete as in (36c).

- (36) a. *mini-kaḍun babu-la kholi-t ḍamb-l-ə ja-t-ə.*  
 Mini-by Babu-DAT room-in dump-PERF-NSG PASS-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘Babu is dumped in the room by Mini.’
- b. *mini-kaḍun babu-la kholi-t ḍamb-l-ə ge-l-ə.*  
 Mini-by Babu-DAT room-in dump-PERF-NSG PASS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Babu was dumped in the room by Mini.’
- c. *babu-la kholi-t ḍamb-l-ə jat-t-ə/ge-l-ə.*  
 Babu-DAT room-in dump-PERF PASS-IMPF-NSG/PASS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Babu is/was dumped in the room.’

### Relative participial control

A difference between the nominative and the ergative system is seen in their subject control of reduced correlative structures with the present and perfect participles. (See Chapter 7.) Reduced correlatives with the present participle allow only nominative subjects with the transitives as in (37). In contrast, reduced correlative with the perfective participle allow only the nominative objects as in (39). The ergative subject may not head the reduced correlative as seen in (38).

### Transitive subject

- (37) *pustāk wac-ṇar-i mulgi.*  
 book read-PTCP-3FSG girl-3FSG  
 ‘Book reading girl/a girl who reads the book.’
- (38) *\*pustāk wac-lel-i mulgi.*  
 book read-PERF-3FSG girl-3FSG  
 ‘Book read girl/a girl who read the book.’
- (39) *muli-ni wac-lel-ə pustāk.*  
 girl-ERG read-PERF-NSG book-NSG  
 ‘Girl read book./The book read by the girl.’

The parallel syntactic behavior of nominative and ergative subjects shows that ergativity in Marathi is confined to morphological strata and affects only the agreement. Its syntactic percolation is minor.

### 5.2.2 Dative subjects

Dative subjects are found with psychological predicates such as verbs of knowledge, belief, desire, perception and mental or physical state. Dative subjects are marked with *la*, the case that denotes the direct and the indirect objects noted above. Unlike ergative subjects, dative subjects may be animate or inanimate.

Similarly, they do not have a distinct case pattern in the first and second person pronoun. Dative subjects, as is the case with the ergative, never show any agreement with the verb. They resemble ergative subjects in this respect. A dative subject construction contains a noun in the nominative often called a theme. The verb agrees with the theme NP as in (40)–(41). Both dative and theme NPs show some subject properties as noted below.

- (40) *lili-la babu awəḍ-t-o.*  
 Lili-DAT Babu-NOM-MSG like-IMPF-MSG  
 ‘Lili likes Babu.’
- (41) *jhaḍa-la phəḷə ye-ta-t.*  
 tree-DAT fruit-NPL come-IMPF-NPL  
 ‘A tree bears fruits.’

### 5.2.2.1 Grammatical properties

Dative subjects control reflexives and some other rules. However they are not subject to rules like passive or Equi NP deletion. Interestingly, the nominative theme also exhibits certain subject properties. It controls reduced correlatives with present and perfect participles. It is crucial to note that though the theme NP shares agreement and case with the nominative subject, it does not share its other grammatical properties. The subject of a dative construction is a controversial topic and the issue cannot be easily resolved. (See Wali 2004; Joshi 1993.)

#### Control of reflexives

A dative subject may not antecede a bare reflexive theme as in (42) but it may antecede other reflexive case forms as in (43). Similarly, the theme-NP may not antecede a dative subject as in (44), but it may antecede other reflexive adverbial NPs as in (45).

- (42) *\*mini-la swətah/apəṇ awḍt-e.*  
 Mini-DAT self/self like-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini likes herself.’
- (43) *mini-la swətah-či/ap-li bəhiṇ awḍ-t-e.*  
 Mini-DAT self-of/self-of sister-3FSG like-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini likes self’s sister.’
- (44) *\*mini swəta-čya/aplya bəhiṇi-la awḍ-t-e.*  
 Mini self’s/self’s sister-DAT like-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Self’s sister likes Mini.’

- (45) *mini-la babu swatah-čya/aplya 3fis-madhe bhet-l-a.*  
 Mini-DAT Babu-3MSG-NOM self's/self's office-in meet-PERF-3MSG  
 'Mini met Babu in his/self's (=Babu's) office.'

### Participial reduction

Both dative subject and theme-NPs take part in participial reduction. Examples (46), (47) show present participial reduction with dative subject and the theme-NP. Examples (48), (49) show the perfective participial reduction.

- (46) *saḍi awḍ-ṇar-i bai.*  
 saḍi like-PTCP-3FSG woman-3FSG  
 'The woman who likes the saḍi.'
- (47) *bai-la awḍ-ṇar-i saḍi.*  
 woman-DAT like-PTCP-3FSG saḍi-3FSG  
 'The saḍi which the woman likes.'
- (48) *saḍi awḍ-lel-i bai.*  
 saḍi like-PTCP-3FSG woman-3FSG  
 'The woman who liked the saḍi.'
- (49) *bai-la awḍ-lel-i saḍi.*  
 woman-DAT like-PTCP-3FSG saḍi-3FSG  
 'The woman liked saḍi. (The saḍi which the woman liked.)'

### 5.2.3 Passive subjects

In addition to the regular passive, the language has what is known as a capability passive. The latter indicates a physical, psychological or emotional inability. Prima facie both passives have almost identical syntactic forms however there are certain crucial differences as we note below.

#### 5.2.3.1 Standard passive

The standard passive is formed with the perfective verbs followed by the auxiliary *ja* 'go'. The original logical subject is marked by the postposition *kaḍun* 'by' showing its demoted status. It may be optionally deleted. Interestingly, there is no change of case for the direct object. The direct object keeps its original case i.e. zero for inanimates and *la* for animates. The verb and the auxiliary agree with the unmarked noun if there is one as in (50). In the absence of an unmarked noun the verb shows neutral agreement as in (51). In short agreement follows the usual agreement rule. The word order is not crucial to a passive construction as is clear in (51).<sup>5</sup>

- (50) *lili-kəḍun wiṭ            phək-l-i            ja-t-e.*  
 Lili-by brick-FSG throw-PERF-3FSG go-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘A brick is thrown by Lili.’
- (51) *babu-la lili-kəḍun kholit    koṇḍ-l-ə            ge-l-ə.*  
 Babu-DAT Lili-by room-in dump-PERF-NSG go-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Babu was dumped in the room by Lili.’

It is worth noting that both the demoted subject and the animate direct object show certain subject properties. For example, the demoted subject, but not the promoted object controls the reflexive *apəṇ* as in (52). The promoted direct object i.e. the *la* NP controls the reflexive *swatah* as in (53). It also controls the reduced present/future and perfect participial as in (54), (55). These are the same rules that Dative Theme NP also controls as noted above.

Reflexive *swatah* with promoted passive *la* NP

- (52) *babu-la mini-kəḍun aplya kholi-t    ḍamb-l-ə            ge-l-ə.*  
 Babu-DAT Mini-by self’s room-in dump-PERF-NSG PASS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Babu was dumped in self’s/her room by Mini.’
- (53) *babu-la swatacyā kholi-t    ḍamb-l-ə            ge-l-ə.*  
 Babu-DAT self’s room-in dump-PERF-NSG PASS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Babu was dumped in self’s/his room.’
- (54) *śaḷ-et paṭhaw-l-a    ja-ṇar-a            mulga*  
 school-in send-PERF-MSG PASS-FUT-MSG boy  
 ‘A boy who will be sent to school.’
- (55) *śaḷ-et paṭhaw-l-a    ge-lel-a            mulga*  
 school-in send-PERF-MSG PASS-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-MSG boy  
 ‘A boy who was sent to school.’

The Marathi dative subject aligns with the demoted passive subject, while the properties of the theme align with the passive promoted subject. Clearly, both dative subject and passive constructions suggest that there are two NP’s with subject status. Both NP’s in both the constructions share subject properties. Note, however, that the two subjects are not on par. In the dative subject construction, the dative subject is intuitively higher on the subject scale than the theme NP. Similarly, in the passive the promoted subject is higher on the subject property scale than the demoted subject. A grammatical theory will have to capture these subject hierarchies as noted below in 5.4.4. (See Joshi1993; Wali 2004.)

- (58) *lili-kəḍun babu-la swəta-cya kholi-t konḍ-l-ə*  
 Lili-by Babu-DAT self'-POSS room-PP dump-PERF-NSG  
*ge-l-ə nahi.*  
 go-PERF-NSG not  
 'Lili was unable to dump Babu in self's/her room.'



### 5.2.4 Subject hierarchy

A comparison of various subject properties as shown in the following table indicates that not all subjects are on an equal footing. Nominative has most subject properties and is highest in rank. Ergative subjects closely follow the nominative. Dative and theme are also on an equal footing. In the passive the promoted subject i.e. *la* NP is on a higher level on the scale than the demoted *kəḏun* ‘by’ NP. The table gives us a measure of subject status. Agreement is not a universal criterion of subject status.

Subject	swətah	Apəŋ	Pr. Ptcp.	Perf. Ptcp.	Passive
Nominative	+	+	+	+	+
Ergative	+	+	+	–	+
Dative	+	+	+	+	–
Theme-NP	+	+	+	+	–
Passive- <i>la</i> NP	+	–	+	+	
Passive-by NP	–	+	–	–	

### 5.3 Direct objects

Direct objects are marked in the same way across all aspects and moods. Animate direct objects are assigned the suffix *la* while inanimate objects are unmarked.<sup>7</sup> Note that these markings are variously termed depending upon the case system one adopts. For example it is widely assumed that objects with *la* suffix encode the dative case and zero marked objects encode the nominative (Damle ([1911]1970; Pandharipande 1997). This terminology coheres with the traditional case system in which morphology takes precedence over grammatical relations. However, this terminology is at odds with the ergative case system. In an ergative system, the direct object is assigned the so-called absolutive case, which is unmarked and identical with the nominative. (See Wali & Koul 2002 for details.) Here we adopt the generally accepted terminology referring to these objects as dative and nominative.

- (59) *lili babu-la bag-et ne-t-e.*

Lili-F Babu-DAT garden-PP take-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘Lili takes Babu into the garden.’

- (60) *lili-ne babu-la bag-et ne-l-a.*

Lili-ERG Babu-DAT garden-PP take-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili took Babu into the garden.’

- (61) *lili arsa bag-et ne-t-e.*  
 Lili-FSG mirror garden-PP take-IMPf-FSG  
 ‘Lili takes a mirror into the garden.’
- (62) *lili-ne arsa bag-et ne-l-a.*  
 Lili-ERG mirror-MSG garden-PP take-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Lili took a mirror into the garden.’

#### 5.4 Indirect objects

Indirect objects in double transitives are always assigned the dative *la* suffix. These objects are always animate. The verb never agrees with them. They usually precede the direct object. However, their position in the sentence is fairly free as in (64a), (64b), (64c).

- (63) *lili-ne babu-la arsa di-l-a.*  
 Lili-ERG Babu-DAT mirror-MSG give-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Lili gave a mirror to Babu.’
- (64) a. *lili-ne arsa babu-la di-l-a.* (Variation)  
 b. *babu-la lili-ne arsa di-l-a.* (Variation)  
 c. *arsa babu-la lili-ne di-l-a.* (Variation)

Human direct objects are usually assigned a nominative case as in (65a). However, they may also appear with the dative *la* as in (65b). Note that in (65b) the verb is showing agreement with the case marked direct object. However, the verb may also be put in the neutral form as required by the rule: No agreement with a marked NP.

- (65) a. *ai-ni babu-la nat*  
 Mother-ERG Babu-DAT grand-daughter  
*dakhəw-l-i / di-l-i.*  
 show-PERF-FSG / give-PERF-FSG
- b. *ai-ni babu-la nat-i-la*  
 Mother-ERG Babu-DAT grand-daughter-DAT  
*dakhəw-l-i / di-l-i / di-l-a.*  
 show-PERF-FSG / give-PERF-FSG / give-PERF-NSG.  
 ‘Mother showed her grand-daughter to Babu.’

## Notes

1. It is interesting to note that in the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive both the intransitive subject and the transitive subject are in the ergative case in apparent contradiction to the intransitive subject and transitive object alignment stated in Dixon. However it turns out that in some languages the intransitives themselves divide into unergative and unaccusative. The unergative intransitives often have ergative subjects showing another type of alignment as is clearly exemplified in Kashmiri. (See Wali 2002.) Marathi obligative-desiderative/subjunctive clearly fits this type of ergative alignment.

2. The second person agreement marker *S* is however present in all aspects and contexts as is clear from its presence in (17), (19), (21), (23). Its presence in (21), (23) is interesting. Note that *S* follows the object agreement. It indicates dual agreement – i.e. object and subject agreement. How to analyze this agreement complexity in a theoretical framework is extremely controversial. (See Gair and Wali 1988b for some solutions.)

3. Marathi draws a morphological distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs which is uncommon in English. Thus *phuṭ* ‘break’ is intransitive and *phoḍ* ‘break’ is transitive.

4. Exceptions to ergative marking include two sets of predicates. The first set allows both nominative and ergative subjects. It includes predicates such as *aṇar*, *caṇ*, *jink*, *smar*, *ḡewə*, *nes*, *pəḍh*, *panghər*, *ṣinkər*, *har* ‘to practice, bite, conquer, remember, eat, wear, learn, wrap, blow the nose, lose’. The second set requires a nominative subject. It is a large set and includes predicates such as *səməj*, *cuk*, *uməj*, *ḡhomb*, *ḍəs*, *tər*, *pi*, *poh*, *bol*, *mhən*, *lag*, *wisər* ‘to understand, miss, understand, clasp/grasp quickly, bite, swim/float, drink, swim, speak, say, touch/begin, forget’.

5. For an extensive analysis of Marathi passive in generative grammar see Wali (2002–2003).

6. The capability passive has not been extensively analysed. It is actually an impersonal passive and its syntactic properties are quite distinct from the regular passive as noted in Rosen and Wali (1989).

7. Note however that the marking of animate direct objects is conditioned by several micro features. For example the overt suffix *la* is favored/required in the case of proper nouns, pronouns, definite objects, countables, and animates, with the exception of certain small creatures such as *həriṇ*, *undir*, *ḡhekuṇ* ‘deer, mouse, bedbug’, which take the zero suffix (see Damle ([1911]1970)). The nominative/ dative distinction in certain contexts is cued to semantic distinction for certain verbs as in the case of *mar* ‘to beat’. The nominative has a stronger semantic implication.

- (i) *kəsai bəkra mar-t-o*.  
Butcher goat kill-IMPF-MSG  
‘The butcher kills the goat.’
- (ii) *kəsai bəkry-la mar-t-o*.  
Butcher goat-DAT beat-IMPF-MSG  
‘The butcher beats the goat.’

8. The predicates *deṇe/dakhəwṇe* ‘to give/show’ are also interpreted as giving in marriage or showing with the intention of marriage.



## CHAPTER 6

# Simple sentences

### 6.0 Sentential structure

A simple sentence as a rule consists of a predicate and one or more arguments. Predicates may be copular, intransitive, transitive, causative and dative-type. There is also a group of impersonal predicates that are devoid of any arguments. Verbless sentences are mostly confined to exclamations and elliptic questions. There is a tendency to retain the copula though it is often omitted in informal conversation.

### 6.1 Word order<sup>1</sup>

Marathi is a verb final language with a relatively flexible word order. However there are interesting restrictions which we will note in the particular sections. The unmarked order is S (IO) DO V – Subject, Indirect Object, Direct Object and Verb. Adjectives precede the noun and exhibit a sequential order: determinative > cardinal > ordinal > qualifying. The order may change for emphasis, and other semantic/pragmatic nuances.

- (1) *tya-ce he pāhi-le pac kaḷe ghoḍe*  
he-POSS-PL these first-PL five black-PL horse-PL  
(POSS) (D) (C) (O) (Q) (N)  
'His first five black horses.'

Adverbs usually precede the verb or even the core sentence. Their unmarked order is: Temporal > Manner > Place. Temporal adverbs usually precede the sentence.

- (2) *tya-wēḷi čenḍu wega-ne uncə uḍa-l-a.*  
that-time ball-M speed-PP high bounce-PERF-MSG  
(T) (M) (P)  
'At that time the ball bounced high with speed.'

The unmarked order is maintained in the finite subordinate clause also but elements of the subordinate clause may not be moved into the main clause. The subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause as noted in Chapter 7. A non-finite clause requires the verb to be in the final position. The non-finite subject clause precedes the main verb. The word order in a non-finite clause is fairly strict.

## 6.2 Copular sentences

A copula is a linking verb with no independent meaning of its own. Marathi has two copulas: *ahe* ‘to be’ and *hoṇe* ‘to become, happen’. They vary for tense and aspect and inflect for the person, gender and number of their subject. Their subjects are in the nominative. Their complements may be predicate nouns, adjectives or adverbs. In negative contexts, the verbal *nahi* ‘not’ replaces *ahe* but follows *hoṇe* as is the case with a lexical verb. *nahi* inflects for the person and number of the nominative subject as is the case with *ahe*. (See Chapter 3.)

### Copula *ahe*

- (3) *tu lekhika ahe-s.*  
 you-F writer-F Be-PRES-2SG  
 ‘You are a writer.’
- (4) *mini lekhika ahe.*  
 Mini writer-F Be-PRES  
 ‘Mini is a writer.’
- (5) *te dekhṇe ahe-t / nahi-t.*  
 they handsome Be-PRES-3PL / not-PRES-3PL  
 ‘They are/are not handsome.’
- (6) *babu-ca awaj phar jordar nahi.*  
 Babu-POSS voice very loud not  
 ‘Babu’s voice is not very loud.’

### Copula *hoṇe*

- (7) *babu lekhak ho-t-o / jha-l-a.*  
 Babu-M writer-M become-PRES-3MSG / become-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Babu becomes/became a writer.’
- (8) *mini lekhika ho-t-e / jha-l-i.*  
 Mini writer-F become-PRES-FSG / become-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Mini becomes/became a writer.’

- (9) *udya bhukəmp ho-ɳar / ho-ɳar nahi.*  
 tomorrow earthquake happen-PROS / happen-PROS not  
 ‘There will be/will not be an earthquake tomorrow.’
- (10) *kay jha-l-ə?*  
 what happen-PERF-NSG  
 ‘What happened?’
- (11) *ti weɖi jha-l-i.*  
 she mad become-PERF-FSG  
 ‘She became mad.’

The copula *ahe* is used to express existence, universal truths, definition, identity and also possession.<sup>2</sup>

- (12) *hya jəg-at bhutə ahe-t ka?*  
 this-OBL world-OBL-PP ghost-PL Be-3PL Q  
 ‘Are there ghosts in this world?’
- (13) *aplə aplə nəʃib ahe.*  
 self-POSS self-POSS destiny Be-PRES  
 ‘You are born with your own destiny.’
- (14) *to waghoba ahe.*  
 he tiger Be-PRES  
 ‘He is a tiger/tiger-like.’

Possession may be alienable (15), (16), inalienable (17), or temporary (18). The subject is marked with the dative or with a postposition. The copula agrees with the possessed element. The possessor may be animate or inanimate.

- (15) *tya-la tin sədr-e ahe-t.*  
 he-DAT three shirt-MPL Be-3MPL  
 ‘He has three shirts.’
- (16) *gulaba-la khup phulə ahe-t.*  
 rose-DAT lot flower-NPL Be-NPL  
 ‘The rose-bush has lots of flowers.’
- (17) *ti-la tin bhau ahe-t.*  
 she-DAT three brother-PL Be-3MPL  
 ‘She has three brothers.’
- (18) *tya-la tap ho-t-a.*  
 he-DAT fever-MSG Be-PAST-MSG  
 ‘He had a fever.’

*Hoṇe* is used with certain nouns and adjectives to form phrasal verbs such as *lagnə hoṇe*, *dukkhə hoṇe*, *bəṛə hoṇe*, ‘to get married, to become unhappy, to recover.’ (See Chapter 3.)

- (19) *lili-cə lagnə jha-l-ə nahi.*  
 Lili-POSS marriage-NSG happen-PERF-NSG not  
 ‘Lili’s marriage did not take place.’
- (20) *tu laukər bər-a ho.*  
 you-MSG soon well-2MSG be-PRES-MSG  
 ‘Get well soon.’

### 6.3 Declarative sentences

A declarative sentence falls into five basic categories on the basis of the classification of verbs: (i) intransitives, (ii) transitives and causatives, (iii) impersonals, (iv) datives, and (v) passives.

#### 6.3.1 Intransitives

Intransitives have only one argument. The argument is marked nominative except in the obligative-desiderative/subjunctive which marks it in the ergative as noted in Chapter 5. Intransitive verbs inflect for tense, aspect, and mood and agree with the nominative subject in gender, number and person. An intransitive sentence may be extended with adverbs, adjectives or postpositional phrases.

- (21) *lili ratri bara wajta nij-t-e.*  
 Lili-F night-at twelve clock sleep-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Lili sleeps at twelve at night’
- (22) *lili-ne ratri bara wajta nija-w-e.*  
 Lili-ERG night-at twelve clock sleep-DESI-NSG  
 ‘Lili should sleep at twelve at night.’

#### 6.3.2 Transitives

Simple transitive verbs take two arguments while double transitive verbs take three. The case and agreement marking of these arguments have already been noted in Chapter 5.



### 6.3.3 Causatives

There is no independent causative verb. Naturally there is no sentence like the English ‘Max caused Mary to die’. Causative verbs are derived from both intransitive and transitive verbs by the suffix *əw* as in (24), (26). Causatives derived from intransitives mark the causee with the dative case *la* while those derived from the transitives mark it with a postposition as in (26). The distinction is known as direct vs. indirect causation. A few transitives mostly from the ingestive group – *kha*, *pi*, *şik*, *samaj*, *caṭ* ‘eat, drink, learn, understand, lick’ also follow the direct causation pattern. (For causative formation see 4.3.3.)

- (23) *babu həs-l-a.*  
 Babu-M laugh-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Babu laughed.’
- (24) *mini-ne babu-l-a həsəw-l-ə.*  
 Mini-ERG Babu-DAT laugh-CAUS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Mini made/caused Babu to laugh.’
- (25) *mini-ne kam ke-l-ə.*  
 Mini-ERG work-NSG did-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Mini did the work.’
- (26) *mini-ne lili-kəḍun kam kər-əw ə-l-ə.*  
 Mini-ERG Lili-by work-NSG do-CAUS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Mini had/made Lili do the work.’

#### Affective/ingestive verbs

- (27) *mi lili-la mədh caṭəw-l-a.*  
 I lili-DAT honey-M lick-CAUS-PERF-MSG  
 ‘I caused Lili to lick the honey.’ (by putting it in her mouth).

Derived causatives form the basis for extended causatives. The causative is extended by attaching the same suffix *əw* and adding an extra argument with a different postposition.

- (28) *mini-ne lili-kəḍun babu-ce-kərəw i kam kər-əw-əw-l-ə.*  
 Mini-ERG Lili-by Babu-through work-NSG do-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Mini got Lili to do the work through Babu.’

#### Features of causatives

Causatives are complex structures. A distinguishing feature of the indirect causative structure is its potential for indefinite extension. One can always add an

extra mediator NP also known as OO – Oblique Object with a corresponding causative suffix. Grammatically there is no limit to this extension as schematically shown below. Marathi provides a different postposition for upto three to four mediators.

X1	X2- <i>kaḍun</i>	X3- <i>kārāwi</i>	X4- <i>dwara</i>	V- <i>əw-əw-əw-</i>
Agent	by	through	through	V-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS

An interesting feature of these mediators is that they come in a particular fixed order which is contrary to the free word order allowed elsewhere in the language. (See Wali 1980, 1881.)

#### 6.3.4 Impersonal sentences

Impersonal sentences lack a referential subject. A large group of these sentences belong to weather verbs. A small group of health expressions and impersonal passive sentences also belong to this group.

Weather expressions: Both the (a) and (b) counterparts are used in everyday life. The counterparts in (a) are true impersonals. They show neuter singular agreement. The counterparts in (b) form a large group. It is a combination of noun + copula. The copula consists of various light-auxiliary verbs such as *ye*, *ho*, *pəḍ* ‘come, become, fall’.

(A)

- (29) a. *dhəgaḷḷə*. ‘It has become cloudy.’  
 b. *dhəga aḷe*. ‘The clouds have come.’
- (30) a. *uḷaḍḷə*. ‘It has become light/day break/dawn.’  
 b. *uḷeḍ jhala*. ‘The light has come.’
- (31) a. *phəṭphəṭḷə*. ‘It has become early morning’  
 b. no counter expression
- (32) a. *sanjawḷə*. ‘It is evening/evening has come.’  
 b. *sanj/səndhyakāḷ jhali*. ‘Evening has come.’
- (33) a. *əndharḷə*. ‘It has become dark.’  
 b. *əndhar jhala*. ‘It has become dark.’

## Some other expressions

(a)

- (34) *aj phar thāṇḍi / gərmi waṭ-t-e.*  
 today very cold-F / hot-F feel-IMP-FSG  
 ‘It feels very cold/hot today.’

- (35) *ghər-at gudmər-ay-la ho-t-ə.*  
 house-PP suffocate-OBL-PP become-IMP-FSG  
 ‘It becomes suffocating in the house.’

- (36) *kal paus pəḍ-l-a.*  
 yesterday rain-M fall-PERF-MSG  
 ‘It rained yesterday.’

(b) Health expressions:

- (37) *poṭ-at məl̥məl̥t-ə ahe.*  
 stomach-PP feel-queasy-IMP Be-PRES  
 ‘It feels queasy in the stomach./There is a queasy feeling in the stomach.’

## Impersonal passive

Impersonal passive constructions have been noted in Chapter 5. The subject of the impersonal intransitive passive may also be a non referential entity.

- (38) *səkaḷ-i uṭh-əwt-ə nahi.*  
 morning-in get-PASS-PRES not  
 ‘It is hard to get up in the morning.’

## Impersonal expletive subjects

A few verbs are headed by an impersonal expletive subject such as *asə/he* ‘so’.

- (39) *asə mhəṇtat ki ti-ca nəwra weḍ-a ahe.*  
 so say COMP her-POSS husband crazy-MSG Be-PRES  
 ‘They say / It is said that her husband is crazy.’
- (40) *asə distə ki mini-la nokri mīḷa-l-i.*  
 so seem COMP Mini-DAT job-F get-PERF-FSG  
 ‘It seems that Mini got a job.’

## 6.4 Null subject sentences

Null subject sentences are generated by deleting a pronominal subject.<sup>3</sup> The pronoun preserves its reference by means of verbal agreement. Pronominal deletion is extensively used in Marathi as noted and exemplified in Chapter 11.

## 6.5 Dative sentences

Sentences with dative subjects are found with a class of verbs such as inchoative, stative, psych-verbs, and some others. Dative subjects contrast with ergative subjects. They are often called experiencer subjects. The structure of dative sentences is extremely controversial. Dative sentences obligatorily take a dative subject. They also contain a theme NP. The grammatical status of these NP's as subjects and objects has been discussed in Chapter 5. Here we note some more sentences with a dative subject.

- (41) *ti-la thañḍi waj-t-e.*  
 she-DAT cold-F feel-IMPF-FSG  
 'She feels cold.'
- (42) *ti-la laj waṭ-t-e.*  
 she-DAT shy-F feel-IMPF-FSG  
 'She feels shy.'
- (43) *ti-la rag a-l-a.*  
 she-DAT anger-M come-PERF-MSG  
 'She got angry.'
- (44) *ti-la bəḱṣis miḷa-l-ə.*  
 she-DAT gift-N receive-PERF-NSG  
 'She received a gift.'
- (45) *ti-la bəḱṣis pahije.*  
 she-DAT gift-N want  
 'She wants a gift.'

Note that some dative sentences have counterparts with nominative subjects. Compare for example (42) with (46), and (43) with (47).

- (46) *ti laj-t-e.*  
 she shy-IMPF-FSG  
 'She feels shy.'

- (47) *ti ragaw-l-i.*  
 she angry-PERF-FSG  
 ‘She got angry.’

## 6.6 Passive sentences

See Chapter 5.

## 6.7 Modal sentences

Modality is a notional category closely associated with aspects of reality and its refraction in mind and language.<sup>4</sup> Modality serves to express the attitudes and opinions of the speaker to the propositional content of a sentence. Modal sentences thus contrast with declarative sentences, which are truth oriented. Modals express wish, intention, possibility, necessity, commands and other subjective attitudes. Marathi modal sentences are generated by means of suffixation or a compounding process. Imperatives and optatives belong to the first category while permissive, obligative, desiderative, and capability modals make up the second category. It is interesting to note that both the modals in the first category are deontic type. The compound variety is a mixed bag of inherent, epistemic and deontic modality.

### 6.7.1 Modals by suffixation

#### 6.7.1.1 Imperative mood

Traditional grammarians have assigned the imperative mood to all three persons and have assigned *U* as its representative morpheme. However, in the first person the so called imperative is actually a hortative or permissive mood. It asks permission to do something. It is represented by attaching *u* to the verb stem. It is often followed by *ka* the Yes-no question marker. In the first plural it also expresses the hortative sense of plea i.e. ‘let us’. It is then followed by *ye* ‘come’ as in (50).

- (48) *mi kheḷ-u / ja-u ka?*  
 I play-IMP / go-IMP Q  
 ‘May I play/go?’ (Is it OK if I play, I wish to play, do I have your permission to play?)

- (49) *amhi ghāri ja-u (ka)?*  
 we home go-IMP Q  
 'May we go home?'
- (50) *apəṇ maḍi-uər jau ya.*  
 we-INCL upstairs-PP go-IMP come-PL  
 'Let us go upstairs/should we go upstairs.'
- (51) *pahu, tula kay miḷa-l-ə te?*  
 see-IMP you-DAT what find-PERF-NSG that  
 'Let me see, what you found/got.'

The second person imperative uses the bare verb stem in the singular. In the plural it is marked by *a*, which incurs certain morphological changes in the verb stem. It is a true imperative. It is used to issue a strong or a mild command or even a request. It takes the form of a forceful plea when addressing a large crowd.

- (52) *(tu) kam-a-la lag / surwat kər.*  
 you work-OBL-PP begin-IMP / beginning-do-IMP-SG  
 'Start your job.'
- (53) *tumhi / apəṇ khali bās-a.*  
 you-PL / you-HON down sit-IMP-PL  
 'Please sit down.'
- (54) *mitr-a-nno, cəl-a, uṭh-a, ata kam-a-la lag-a.*  
 friends-OBL-PL go-PL, get-up-PL now work-OBL-PP start-PL  
 'Friends, get up, get going, start working now.'

The third person imperative has the sense of what we may call jussive. Its morphological forms are *o/ot*. It is mainly used to express a good wish, a blessing or even a curse. The negative form uses the particle *nə* before the imperative.

- (55) *dew tyacə kəlyan kər-o.*  
 God his bless do-IMP-3SG  
 'May god bless him.'
- (56) *rajesaheb tya-la šikṣa kər-ot.*  
 Rajesaheb-HON he-DAT punish do-IMP-3HON  
 'May/Let Rajesaheb punish him.'
- (57) *dew tyacə kəlyan nə kər-o.*  
 God his bless not do-IMP-3SG  
 'May god not bless him.'

### 6.7.1.2 Optative

The optative consists of an intransitive verb in the desiderative and a nominative subject. The optative is confined to intransitive verbs.

- (58) *lili bag-e-t ja-w-i.*  
 Lili garden-OBL-PP go-DESI-FSG  
 ‘May Lili go in the garden.’
- (59) *basbu-cə ləgnə wha-wə.*  
 Babu-POSS marriage-N Be-DESI-NSG  
 ‘May Babu get married.’

### 6.7.2 Compound modals

Compound modals require the verb to be in its non-finite form. The non-finite form may be a participle, an infinitive or an inceptive. Secondly, the lexical items employed as modals are drawn from a vocabulary of modals and certain auxiliary verbs already noted in 3.4.2.3. These verbal compounds function like quasi modals (Dhongde 1984). The verbs and lexical items form a complex modal entity. The complex modal expresses the sense of permission, obligation, desideration, capability, and adversity. The modal or its equivalent representative carries the tense and agreement markers. All these have been exemplified in 3.4.2.3. Here we include a few more examples with explanation of their properties.

#### 6.7.2.1 Permissive complex

The permissive sense is expressed by *de* ‘give’ interpreted as ‘allow/let’ when it follows a verb in its inceptive participial form. The construction follows the typical split aspectual pattern with nominative and ergative subject distinctions as exemplified in (60), (61).

- (60) *lili babu-la bag-et ja-u de-t-e.*  
 Lili Babu-DAT garden-PP go-INCP allow-PRES-3FSG  
 ‘Lili allows Babu to go in the garden./Lili lets Babu go in the garden.’
- (61) *lili-ni babu-la bhat kha-u di-l-a.*  
 Lili-ERG Babu-DAT rice-MSG eat-INCP allow-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Lili allowed Babu to eat rice.’
- (62) *mə-la baget ja-u de.*  
 I-DAT garden-in go-INCP allow-IMP  
 ‘Let me go in the garden.’

### 6.7.2.2 Obligative modals

The obligatives are expressed simply by a desiderative/subjunctive verb or by various lexical verbs compounded with participial forms of verbs expressing various degrees of obligation. The subjects of desiderative/subjunctives are in the ergative. The verb may be transitive or intransitive as in (63), (64). The modals *pahije*, *hawe* ‘want’ and the lexical verbs *laghe*, *padhe* ‘begin, fall’ all convey a sense of ‘must’. They implicate a stronger obligative sense than the desiderative/subjunctive. The subject of *pahije/hawe* may be in the nominative, ergative or dative, the ergative subject expressing a stronger obligation. Both the verb and the modal inflect for their respective agreements as in (66). The subjects of *laghe*, and *padhe* are in the dative only. The verb is in the -desiderative/subjunctive *we* or infinitive *ne*. It is interesting to note that the auxiliary *ahe* ‘be’ also imparts a sense of obligation when employed after the predictive verbal participial *ayac* as in (68).

- (63) *lili-ni bag-et ja-u na-ye.*  
Lili-ERG garden-in go-INCP not-DESI  
‘Lili should not go into the garden.’
- (64) *lili-ne ai-ca hat dhara-w-a.*  
Lili-ERG mother’s hand-3MSG hold-DESI-3MSG  
‘Lili should hold mother’s hand.’
- (65) *lili-ne/lili-la baget bas-la pahije.*  
Lili-ERG/Lili-DAT garden go-PERF must  
‘Lili must/ought to sit in the garden.’
- (66) *lili-la phula tod-aw-i lag-t-il.*  
Lili-DAT flowers-NPL pluck-DESI-NPL have-FUT-NPL  
‘Lili will have to pluck flowers.’
- (67) *ti-la ghari ja-na ye-t-a / pad-t-a/ahe.*  
she-DAT home go-INF come-IMPV-NSG / fall-IMPV-NSG/Be-PRES  
‘She has to go home.’
- (68) *ti-la ghari ja-yac-a ahe.*  
she-DAT home go-PTCP Be-PRES  
‘She has to go home.’

### 6.7.2.3 Desiderative

The desiderative uses *pahne*, *chahne*, *icchi-ne* ‘see, want, wish’; all expressing the sense of ‘want’ or ‘wish’. Their subject is in the nominative and the verb is in the inceptive *u* form.



- (69) *lili kheḷ-u paht-e/čaht-e/ičči-t-e.*  
 Lili play-INCP want/wish-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘Lili wants/wishes to play.’

#### 6.7.2.4 Capability/potential

Capability is expressed by the explicator verb *yeṇe* ‘to come’, which follows the main verb in its participial *ta* form. The subject is in the dative. The potential is expressed by the modal *šəkne* ‘to be able, can’. It follows the verb in its inceptive *u* form. The subject is in the nominative. Both *yeṇe* and *šəkne* inflect for tense.

- (70) *lili-la nac-ta ye-tə.*  
 Lili-DAT dance-PTCP come-PRES  
 ‘Lili knows how to dance/Lili can dance.’
- (71) *lili udyā nac-u šək-el.*  
 Lili tomorrow dance-INCP can-FUT  
 ‘Lili can/will be able to dance tomorrow.’

### Notes

- Word order variations have not been treated in the traditional grammar. Recently, they have been mentioned as a topic comment structure in Pandharipande (1997). It is worth noting here that word order variations have been treated as a scrambling phenomenon in the Chomskian framework (see Grewendorf and Sternefeld 1990). The scrambling theory throws much light on what is known as Move alpha rule. Marathi has not been treated in this framework.
- Universal truths may also be expressed in the present tense: (See Chapter 3.)
  - pruthwi surya-bhowati phir-t-e.*  
 earth-F sun-around revolve-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘The earth revolves around the sun.’
  - don wə don miḷun čar ho-t-at.*  
 two and two together four Be-PRES-3PL  
 ‘Two PLUS two make four.’
- Pronoun deletion is not a universal phenomenon. Some languages forbid any deletion at all. Some languages allow only subject pronouns to delete while some others delete both subject and object pronouns as evidenced in Kashmiri. Kashmiri has an extensive clitic system which preserves the pronominal reference (see Wali and Koul 1997).
- According to Herslund (1989) man can intervene in numerous ways between reality and the linguistic expression of it. Modality defines the set of linguistic phenomena which signals the presence of man in language.



## CHAPTER 7

# Complex sentences

### 7.0 Introduction

Complex sentences are either of the complement or the correlative type. In both there is certain interdependence between the main and the dependent clause. A complement clause is embedded under a main clause and may be finite, non-finite, or a small clause. Non-finite clauses are derived from infinitives, and participles. The correlative pattern cuts across both adjectival and adverbial types. A correlative<sup>1</sup> structure consists of a pair of clauses containing relative and correlative elements in mutual relationship. The relative clause is considered subordinate to the correlative. It usually precedes the correlative though other orders are also found. The correlative may also be reduced to a non-finite clause by means of a participle. In that case the resulting clause is devoid of relative correlative markers. It is interesting to note that historically the correlative is the original Indo-Aryan pattern while the finite complement system is a late Persian borrowing.<sup>2</sup> The non-finite pattern is of Dravidian origin.

### 7.1 Complement structures

#### 7.1.1 Finite complement clauses

##### Complement pattern

Marathi complement system is rather complex. The principal complementizer is *ki*. It marks all finite complement clauses. *ki* precedes the complement clause. In addition the main clause contains words such as *asə/he/hi goṣṭə/(asə) mhəṇun* ‘so/this/this story/saying so’. Clearly these words belong to the pronominal or the noun category. Their function is to relate the main clause to the complement clause. Traditional grammarians have described them as appositives; appositive conjunctions to be precise (see Damle ([1911]1970)). The choice of these words is semantically cued to the main verb as noted below.

### Appositive words and predicate alignment

Consider intransitives. Their subject complements choose the appositives *he/hi goṣṭā* ‘this, this story’. In contrast the objects of transitive predicates such as *sang*, *hukum kār*, ‘tell, order’ take the appositives *asā* or *mhaṇun* ‘so, saying so’. Consider next the predicates that take dative subjects. These primarily divide into cognitive, emotive, perception and a few other types. The cognitive and emotive predicates such *mahit ahe*, *khed waṭṇe* ‘know, feel sad’ take the appositives *he/hi goṣṭā* ‘this, this story’. They align with the intransitives. In contrast, the perception predicates such as *disṇe*, *waṭṇe* ‘seem, believe’ choose the appositive *asā* ‘so’. They do not allow *he/hi goṣṭā*. The cognitive non-cognitive predicate alignment has a clear semantic tinge. It fits the factive, propositional distinction proposed in Kiparsky (1971) and later confirmed in Peterson and Wali (1985) from a wide range of cross language data including Marathi and Kannada.

#### 7.1.1.1 Grammatical status of complements

The complements of intransitives are clearly subjects in their own rights. Similarly the complements of transitives have a clear object status. However the grammatical status of dative complements is not that well defined. In the previous chapter we have shown that in a dative construction subject status is allotted to the dative NP itself and the nominative NP has a theme status. Clearly then the complement of a dative predicate has a theme status rather than that of a subject as is assumed at times.

### Alignment of predicates and complements

As stated above the appositive words dictate the choice of predicates and their complements. They divide the complements into factive and propositional types with certain exceptions. Both these further divide into subject and theme clauses with respect to their predicates. Predicates that take subject complements are mostly adjectival intransitives. Predicates that take theme complements have a dative subject. Transitive predicates take object complements. They are mostly comprised of communication predicates with a subclass of quotatives and some others. Our classification scheme is neither complete nor exhaustive. Our object is to show that appositive words in Marathi align the predicates and their complements along a semantic line.

### 7.1.1.2 Complement schema

A: Complements headed by *he/hi goštə* ‘this/this story’.

A1: Subject complements of factive/emotive predicates: *məhtwacə ahe* ‘it is important’; *wičitrə ahe* ‘strange is’; *khedači goštə ahe* ‘sad is’; *wiləksəŋ ahe* ‘strange is’; *khərə ahe*, *koštə ahe* ‘true is, false is’.

A2: Theme complements of cognitive/emotive predicates: *ṭhauk ahe/ mahit ahe* ‘know’; *khed waṭne* ‘feel sad’; *wičitrə waṭne* ‘feel strange’; *anəndə waṭne* ‘feel happy’; *yogyə waṭne* ‘think proper’.

B: Complements headed by *əsə* ‘so’.

B1: Subject complements of propositional predicates: *disne* ‘seem’; *nighəne* ‘turn out’.

B2: Theme complements of propositional predicates: *waṭne* ‘feel, think, believe’; *ičča ahe* ‘wish is’; *aša ahe* ‘hope is’; *aḏhəḷne* ‘find out’.

B3: Complements of verbs of opinion/judgement: *mət ahe* ‘the opinion is’; *əndaj/ aḏhawa/kayas ahe* ‘estimate, the conjecture is’. (The subjects of B3 verbs are always in the possessive.)

C: Object complements headed by *əsə/mhəŋun*.

These complements include direct and indirect statements, hearsay reports, indirect questions, and some others. The complements are embedded mostly under verbs of communication: *sangne* ‘to tell’; *mhəŋne* ‘to say’; *lihne* ‘to write’; *kəḷəwne* ‘to inform’; *šikəwne* ‘to teach’; *əikne* ‘to hear’; *hukum kərne/deŋe* ‘to order’; *pətrə paṭhəwəne* ‘to send a letter’; *khəbər deŋe* ‘to give the news, inform’.

Some pertinent examples and their syntactic variations.

#### Subject complements

- (1) *hi goštə wīcitrə ahe ki [lili-ni lagnə ke-l-ə]*.  
this story strange Be-PRES COMP Lili-ERG marriage-N do-PERF-NSG  
‘The story that Lili got married is strange.’
- (2) *he wīcitrə ahe ki [lili-ni lagnə ke-l-ə]*.  
this strange Be-PRES COMP Lili marriage-N do-PERF-NSG  
‘It is strange that Lili got married.’

#### Variations:

- (1) a. *lili-ni lagnə ke-l-ə hi goštə wicitrə ahe*. (*ki* deletion)  
Lili marriage-N do-PERF-NSG this story strange Be-PRES
- (2) a. *lili-ni lagnə ke-l-ə he wicitrə ahe*. (*ki* deletion)  
Lili marriage-N do-PERF-NSG this strange Be-PRES

## Verbs of cognition

- (3) *lili-la he/hi goṣṭə mahit ahe ki mini ithe nahi.*  
 Lili-DAT this/this story know Be-PRES COMP Mini here not  
 ‘Lili knows that Mini is not here.’

## Variations:

- (3) a. *lili-la mahit ahe ki mini ithe nahi.*  
 Lili-DAT know Be-PRES COMP Mini here not  
 (Deletion of *he/hi goṣṭə*)
- b. *he/hi goṣṭə lili-la mahit ahe ki mini ithe nahi.*  
 this/this story Lili-DAT know Be-PRES that Mini here not  
 (*he/hi goṣṭə* preceding)
- c. *mini ithe nahi he/hi goṣṭə lili-la mahit ahe.*  
 Mini here not this/this story Lili-DAT know Be-PRES  
 (COMPLEMENT proceeding)
- d. *\*ki mini ithe nahi he/hi goṣṭə lili-la mahit ahe.*  
 COMP Mini here not this/this story Lili-DAT know Be-PRES  
 ((3c) with *ki*)

The above variations show that *hi/hi goṣṭə* ‘this/this story’ may delete, or may precede the clause, and secondly, that the complement clause may precede the main clause only if *ki* is deleted as in (3c) vs. (3d).

The complement clause with *hi goṣṭə* is very similar to the typical complex NP, also called Noun clause construction, as in (4). However there is a difference. Only *hi goṣṭə* may be replaced by *he* without any loss of meaning. A true complex NP does not yield this alternative as seen in (4a). Both constructions allow the same word order variations.

- (4) *hi warta ki [lili-ni ləgnə ke-l-ə] khoṭi*  
 this rumor-F COMP Lili-ERG marriage-N do-PERF-NSG false-FSG  
*nigha-l-i.*  
 turn-out-PERF-FSG  
 ‘The rumor that Lili got married turned out to be false.’
- a. *\*he ki [lili-ni ləgnə ke-l-ə] khoṭə*  
 this COMP Lili-ERG marriage-N do-PERF-NSG false-NSG  
*nigha-l-ə.*  
 turn-out-PERF-NSG  
 ‘That Lili got married turned out to be false.’

Variations: Complement clause precedes the noun ‘rumor’

- (4) b. *lili-ni lægnə ke-l-ə hi warta khoṭi*  
 Lili marriage-N do-PERF-NSG this rumor-F false  
*nigha-l-i. (ki deletion)*  
 turn-out-PERF-FSG  
 ‘The rumor that Lili got married turned out to be false.’

Complement clause follows *ki*

- (4) c. *hi warta khoṭi nigha-l-i ki lili-ni*  
 this rumor-FSG false turn-out-PERF-FSG COMP Lili-ERG  
*lægnə ke-l-ə.*  
 marriage-N do-PERF-NSG  
 ‘The rumor that Lili got married turned out to be false.’

Verbs of perception/belief

- (5) *lili-la əsə waṭ-t-ə ki mini ithe nahi.*  
 Lili-DAT SO believe-IMPF-NSG COMP Mini here not-PRES  
 ‘Lili believes/thinks that Mini is not here.’

Variations:

- (5) a. *əsə lili-la waṭ-t-ə ki mini ithe nahi.*  
 So Lili-DAT believe-IMPF-NSG COMP Mini here not  
 ‘Lili believes/thinks that Mini is not here.’  
 b. *lili-la waṭ-t-ə ki mini ithe nahi. (əsə deletion)*  
 Lili-DAT believe-IMPF-NSG COMP Mini here not  
 ‘Lili believes/thinks that Mini is not here.’  
 c. *mini ithe nahi əsə lili-la waṭ-t-ə. (Absence of ki)*  
 Mini here not so Lili-DAT believe-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘Lili believes/thinks that Mini is not here.’  
 d. *\*ki mini ithe nahi əsə lili-la waṭ-t-ə. (ki + Complement)*  
 COMP Mini here not so Lili-DAT believe-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘Lili believes/thinks that Mini is not here.’

Center embedded complement clause:

- (5) e. *lili-la [mini ithe nahi] əsə waṭ-t-ə.*  
 Lili-DAT Mini here not so believe-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘Lili believes/thinks that Mini is not here.’

The desiderative/subjunctive verb often assimilates *əsə* as in *yawə əsə* vs. *yawəsə* in (6).

- (6) *lili-la mini-ne ithe yawə əsə / yawəsə waṭ-t-ə.*  
 Lili-DAT Mini-ERG here come-DESI so / come-so feel-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘Lili feels that Mini should come here.’

Object complements

- (7) *lili-ni mini-la (əsə) sangit-l-ə ki babu bajaran ge-l-a.*  
 Lili-ERG Mini-DAT so tell-PERF-NSG COMP Babu shop-PP go-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Lili told Mini that Babu went shopping.’

Variation:

- (7) a. *babu bajaran ge-l-a əsə lili-ni mini-la sangit-l-ə.*  
 Babu shopping go-PERF-MSG so Lili-ERG Mini-DAT tell-PERF-NSG

In Marathi certain verbs of communication optionally employ first and second person pronouns in the complement clause to refer to the subject and the object of the main clause. The expected third person use is suppressed. Clearly these pronouns are functioning as logophors.<sup>3</sup> These verbs tend to use the so called quotative word *mhəṇun* ‘saying so’ in place of *əsə*’ (see Pandharipande 1997). These constructions optionally utilize *ki* just in case the main clause is in a preceding position as in (10a).

- (8) *lili mhəṇ-t-e ki mi tikəḍe ja-ṇar nahi.*  
 Lili say-IMPF-FSG COMP I(Lili) there go-PROS not  
 ‘Lili says she (i.e., Lili) will not go there.’
- (9) *tu tithe ja-u nəko-s əsə / mhəṇun lili-ni mini-la*  
 You there go-DESI not-2SG so / QOT Lili-ERG Mini-DAT  
*sangit-l-ə.*  
 tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili told Mini that she (i.e., Mini) should not go there.’
- (10) *mə-la mar-u nəka mhəṇun / əsə ti bəṛḷə-t ho-t-i.*  
 me-DAT hit-IMP not QOT / so she mutter-IMPF be-PAST-3FSG  
 ‘Dont hit me.’ She was muttering.

Variations:

- (10) a. *ti bəṛḷə-t ho-t-i (ki) mə-la mar-u*  
 she mutter-IMPF be-PAST-3FSG COMP me-DAT hit  
*nəka (mhəṇun / əsə.)*  
 not QOT / so



- b. *ti bərɬə-t ho-t-i mə-la mar-u nəka mhənun / əsə.*  
 She mutter-IMPf be-PAST-3FSG me-DAT hit-IMP not QOT / so

### 7.1.2 Small clause complements

A small clause lies midway between a finite and a non-finite clause. It consists of an attributive clause embedded under certain predicates such as *man*, *səmāj*, *mhən*, *waɬ*, *dis*, ‘consider, think, say, believe, seem’. The subject of the attributive clause is raised to become the object of the main clause in the context of the first three predicates as exemplified in (11a), the small clause version of (11). The last two predicates i.e., *waɬ*, *dis* take dative subjects and the embedded attributive clause functions as a theme. Naturally it is the theme that is raised to the main clause as in (12a).

- (11) *lili səməj-t-e/man-t-e ki mini sundər ahe.*  
 Lili consider-IMPf-FSG COMP Mini beautiful Be-PRES  
 ‘Lili thinks that Mini is beautiful.’  
 a. *lili mini-la sundər səməj-t-e/man-t-e.*  
 Lili Mini-DAT beautiful consider-IMPf-3FSG  
 ‘Lili considers Mini beautiful.’
- (12) *lili-la waɬ-t-ə ki babu murkhə ahe.*  
 Lili-DAT believe-IMPf-NSG COMP Babu idiot Be-PRES  
 ‘Lili believes that Babu is an idiot.’  
 a. *lili-la babu murkhə waɬ-t-o.*  
 Lili-DAT Babu idiot believe-IMPf-3MSG  
 ‘Lili believes Babu to be an idiot.’

### 7.1.3 Non-finite complement clauses

Non-finite complement clauses are derived by means of the infinitive in *ne*, the inceptive participle *u*, or the past participle in *l/le* suffixed with adverbial markers. These clauses are essentially nominal in character. They function as subjects or objects of certain predicates. Subject clauses mark the predicate with *ne/nə*. Subjects are as a rule marked possessive but they may also appear in the ergative as in (13), (14). In addition intransitive subjects may be in the nominative as in (13). Verbal infinitive forms are inflected for case or employ postpositions to derive various nominal or adverbial clauses. (See Damle ([1911]1970).)

- (13) *ti-cə / ti-nə / ti tithe rah-ṇə योग्यə nəwhə-t-ə.*  
 she-POSS /she-ERG / she-NOM there stay-INF proper not-PAST-NSG  
 ‘Her staying there/for her to stay there was not proper.’<sup>4</sup>
- (14) *ti-cə / ti-nə lili-la te pustək de-ṇə weḍepəṇa ahe.*  
 she-POSS /she-ERG Lili-DAT that book give-INF stupidity Be-PRES  
 ‘Her giving that book to Lili is simply stupid/a stupidity.’

Object complement clauses of verbs like *sang*, *lawə*, *suru kər*, *śik*, ‘tell, force, begin, learn/study’ mark the infinitive with the dative marker *la* as in (15), (16). The subject of the infinitive clause is obligatorily deleted under so called Equi-NP deletion. A few verbs like *lag* ‘begin’ take the inceptive marker *u* as in (17).

- (15) *lili-ni mini-la nac-ay-la śikəw-l-ə.*  
 Lili-ERG Mini-DAT dance-INF-PP teach-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili taught Mini to dance.’
- (16) *lili-ni mini-la sweṭər wiṇ-ay-la sangit-l-ə.*  
 Lili-ERG Mini-DAT sweater knit-INF-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili told Mini to knit a sweater.’
- (17) *to kam kar-u lag-l-a.*  
 he work do-INCP begin-PERF-MSG  
 ‘He began to work.’

Non-finite forms of complex NPs employ the perfective participle in *l* followed by the possessive marker. Note that this participle *l* is primarily used to derive adverbials. Their nominal use is mostly confined to constructions of the complex NP type and a few other predicates.

- (18) [*lili-ni lagnə ke-l-ya-č-i warta*] *khoṭi*  
 Lili-ERG marriage-N do-PERF-OBL-POSS-F rumor-F false-FSG  
*nigha-l-i.*  
 turn-out-PERF-FSG  
 ‘The rumor about Lili getting married turned out to be false.’
- (19) *lili-la [babu-ne mini-ši lagnə ke-l-ya-cə]*  
 Lili-DAT Babu-ERG Mini-PP marriage-NSG do-PERF-OBL-POSS  
*awəḍ-l-ə nahi.*  
 like-PERF-NSG not  
 ‘Lili did not like Babu’s getting married to Mini.’

## 7.2 Correlative structures

Correlative structures include various adjectival and adverbial clauses. In a basic correlative structure the relative and the main clause are juxtaposed forming a relative-correlative pair. In essence it is a diptych structure. Each clause carries its own relative and correlative marker. The correlative pattern is mostly confined to finite clauses. It is absent in non-finites and certain adverbials. Non-finite clauses employ participles.

### 7.2.1 Adjectival correlatives

Adjectival correlatives are either restrictive or appositive. Restrictive correlative clauses exhibit four main patterns – namely, full correlatives, gap and free relatives, and multiple headed correlatives as described below. The appositive relatives are in a class by themselves.

#### 7.2.1.1 Full correlatives

In the full correlative, both the relative *J* and the correlative *T* vary with the case, gender and number of their respective head nouns. In its basic form the relative clause precedes the correlative with several variations such as: (i) a noun follows both the relative and the correlative marker (20a); (ii) both the relative marker *J* and the noun may delete giving rise to a gap relative (20b); (iii) the correlative noun is deleted (20c); (iv) the correlative marker *T* must not delete (20d). Note that most constituents of the full relative clause may be relativized. (See Pandharipande 1997 for details.)

- (20) a. *ji mulgi ghāri ge-l-i ti mulgi dhā ahe.*  
 REL girl home go-PERF-FSG COREL girl stupid Be-PRES  
 ‘The girl who went home is stupid.’  
 b. *ghāri ge-l-i ti mulgi dhā ahe.*  
 home go-PERF-FSG COREL girl stupid Be-PRES  
 c. *ji mulgi ghāri ge-l-i ti dhā ahe.*  
 REL girl home go-PERF-FSG COREL stupid Be-PRES  
 d. *\*ji mulgi ghāri ge-l-i mulgi dhā ahe.*  
 REL girl home go-PERF-FSG girl stupid Be-PRES

A postposed relative clause is more acceptable if it is followed by an additional correlative marker as in (21a). This construction also allows the correlative noun to delete as in (21b), but not the correlative marker *T* as in (21c). In short, in a correlative clause the noun may delete but not the correlative marker *T*. Similarly,

the relative noun may delete as in (21d) but the marker *J* must not delete when the relative clause is postposed as in (21e).

- (21) a. *ti mulgi dhā ahe ji mulgi ghāri ge-l-i ti.*  
 COREL girl stupid Be-PRES REL girl home go-PERF-FSG COREL  
 b. *ti Ø dhā ahe ji mulgi ghāri geli (ti).*  
 c. *\*Ø Ø dhā ahe ji mulgi ghāri geli.*  
 d. *ti mulgi dhā ahe ji Ø ghāri geli ti.*  
 e. *\*ti mulgi dhā ahe Ø mulgi ghāri geli ti.*

In another strategy the relative clause follows the correlative head generating a structure similar to a relative clause in English. It is known as head NP or noun clause relative. The noun in the relative clause is deleted as in (22a). The strategy is obligatory when numerals and quantifiers head a relative clause as in (22b).

- (22) a. *ti mulgi ji ghāri ge-l-i ti dhā ahe.*  
 COREL girl REL home go-PERF-FSG COREL stupid Be-PRES  
 b. *don / kāhi muli jya ghāri ge-l-ya tya nāṭya*  
 two / some girl-PL REL home go-PERF-FPL COREL actress-PL  
*ho-t-ya.*  
 be-PAST-FSG-3PL  
 ‘The two/Some of the girls that went home were actresses.’

In sum when a relative clause precedes the correlative clause, the relative marker *J* may delete along with the noun giving rise to a gap relative. The correlative marker *T* must not delete. When the correlative precedes the relative clause the relative *J* and the correlative *T* must not be deleted. When the correlative head precedes the relative clause the noun must delete in the relative clause. In short the noun may be repeated in both relative and correlative only when the relative clause precedes the correlative.

#### 7.2.1.2 Gap relatives

As noted above gap relatives are generated by deleting the relative marker *J* along with the noun as in (23). The correlative may be followed by the gapped clause only if it is followed by the correlative marker as in (24). (24) expresses a sort of afterthought.

- (23) *Ø Ø ghāri ge-l-i ti mulgi dhā ahe.*  
 home go-PERF-FSG COREL girl stupid Be-PRES  
 ‘The girl who went home that girl is stupid.’ (Literal)

- (24) *ti mulgi dhə ahe øø ghəri ge-l-i ti.*  
 COREL girl stupid Be-PRES home go-PERF-FSG COREL  
 ‘The girl is stupid, the one that went home.’

### 7.2.1.3 Free relatives

Free relatives, also called headless or fused relatives (Huddleston, Pullum 2002) refer to an indefinite antecedent and optionally allow interrogative pronouns to follow the relative and correlative pronouns as in (26a).<sup>5</sup> They show many variations including a gap relative as in (27).

- (25) *jo həs-t-o to šewt-i rəḍ-t-o.*  
 REL laugh-IMPF-MSG COREL end-PP weep-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He who laughs weeps at the end.’
- (26) a. *jo koṇi həsto to koṇi šewt-i rəḍ-t-o.*  
 REL who laughs COREL who end-PP weep-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘Whoever laughs weeps at the end.’  
 b. *jo koṇi həsto to šewṭi rəḍ-t-o.* (Variation on 26a)  
 c. *jo həsto to koṇi šewṭi rəḍ-t-o.* (Variation on 26a)
- (27) *ø həsto to šewṭi rəḍto.*

### 7.2.1.4 Multiple headed relatives<sup>6</sup>

In a multiple headed relative clause several NPs are simultaneously relativized. The correlative clause contains a correlative NP corresponding to each relative NP. The relative clause may precede or follow the correlative clause. The NPs within both the clauses may move freely within their own clause. They need not be paired in any sequence. A multiple headed relative allows several variations some of which are noted below. It does not allow either a gap or a participial type relative. Here we exemplify a sequence of two relativized NP’s with their correlative counterparts since it is easy to process them in English.

#### Preceding relative clause

- (28) a. *ḡya muli-ne ḡe pustək wac-l-ə tya*  
 REL girl-ERG REL book-NSG read-PERF-NSG COREL  
*muli-la te pustək awəḍ-l-ə.*  
 girl-DAT COREL book-NSG like-PERF-NSG

### Preceding correlative

- (28) b. *tya muli-la te pustak awaḍ-l-ə ज्या*  
 COREL girl-DAT COREL book-NSG like-PERF-NSG REL  
*muli-ne je pustak wac-l-ə.*  
 girl-ERG REL book-NSG read-PERF-NSG

Both (28a) and (28b) approximately state: ‘Which girl read which book, that girl liked that book./Each girl liked the book she read.’

The semantics becomes more accessible if the correlative nouns are deleted as in (28c).

- (28) c. *jya muli-ne je pustak wac-l-ə ti-la te awaḍ-l-ə.*  
 REL girl-ERG REL book-N read-PERF-NSG she-DAT that like-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Which girl read which book, she liked it.’<sup>7</sup>

The deletion of nouns in both relative and correlative renders a free relative type meaning.

- (28) d. *ji-ne je wac-l-ə ti-la te awaḍ-l-ə.*  
 REL-FSG-ERG REL-NSG read-PERF-NSG she-DAT that like-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Whatever whoever read, they liked it.’  
 e. *jo jithe ja-t-o to tithe rah-t-o.*  
 who-MSG where go-IMP-MSG he there stay-IMP-MSG  
 ‘Whoever wherever goes will stay there.’

### 7.2.2 Appositive correlatives

Appositive correlatives offer information that is incidental to the main message.

- (29) *to majha mitrə, jo hindi bol-t-o, amerikān ahe.*  
 COREL my friend, REL Hindi speak-IMP-3MS American Be-PRES  
 ‘That friend of mine, who speaks Hindi, is an American.’

The appositive correlative differs from the restrictive correlative in several respects such as:

- i. In a basic appositive correlative the relative clause follows the head, while in a basic restrictive correlative the relative clause is in a preceding position.
- ii. In the appositive correlative the relative *J* is obligatory while the correlative *T* is optional as in (30), a variation on (29). In a restrictive correlative *J* may be deleted but not *T* as noted above.

- (30) *ø majha mitrə, jo hindi bol-t-o, amerikən ahe.*  
 COREL my friend, REL Hindi speak-IMP-3MSG American Be-PRES  
 'A friend of mine/my friend, who speaks Hindi, is an American.'

iii. In the appositive correlative, though not in the restrictive correlative, the correlative *T* may be replaced by *ha, hi, he* 'this (M, F, N); *asa jo, aši ji, ase je* 'such that (M, F, N)' as in (31a), (31b).

- (31) a. *ha majha mitrə, jo hindi šikawə-t-o, ekə prasiddh*  
 this my friend, REL Hindi teach-IMP-MSG a famous  
*lekhək ahe.*  
 writer Be-PRES  
 'This friend of mine, who teaches Hindi, is a famous writer.'
- b. *?aši ji bai, ji-la pah-unə-cə lok*  
 such-FSG woman REL-DAT see-COMPL-EMPH people  
*ghabər-t-at, lili-kəḍe a-l-i.*  
 fear-IMP-PL Lili-PP come-PERF-FSG  
 'A woman, such that looking at her scares people, came to Lili.'

iv. An appositive correlative but not a restrictive correlative may be anteceded by quantifiers, proper nouns, and first and second person pronouns as in (32), (33).

- (32) *joshi-buwa, je amčya-kəḍe rah-t-at, phar məjedar*  
 Joshi-Mr. REL us-PP live-IMP-HON very amusing  
*maṇus ahe.*  
 man Be-PRES  
 'Mr. Joshi, who lives with us, is very funny/amusing./is an amusing man.'
- (33) *jya tula kəla mhəṇje kay he kəḷət nahi tya*  
 REL you-DAT art means what that understand not COREL  
*tula tithe ne-un kay kər-u?*  
 you-DAT there take-PTCP what do-IMP  
 'You, who don't understand what art is, what is the use of taking you there?'

Note: (33) may also start with a remark such as: *to jo tu, jyala kəla* (that, who you / who that you...) instead of *jya tula*.

An appositive correlative may have the same syntactic form as a restrictive correlative when referring to first and second person pronouns as in (34), (35), and at times even proper names or unique individuals. However it is not a restrictive relative clause in any sense of the word as is advocated at times (see Gupte 1975; Pandharipande 1997).

- (34) *jya tu-la wacta yetā nahi, tya tu-la he pustāk*  
 REL you-DAT reading come not, COREL you-DAT this book  
*de-un kay upyog?*  
 give-COMPL what good  
 ‘You, who don’t know how to read, what good will it do giving you this book?’
- (35) *ji mi roj aṭh tas kam kara-y-či ti mi aj don*  
 REL I everyday eight hours work do-HAB COREL I today two  
*tasat dāmā-t-e.* (Kelkar 1974)  
 hours tire-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘I, who used to work eight hours everyday, (that me) now-a-days get tired in two hours.’

Note that the construction in (35) allows the correlative pronoun to flank the entire relative clause as in (36). This is a clear mark of an appositive correlative.

- (36) *ti mi, ji roj aṭh tas kam karayči ti mi aj don tasat dāmāte.* (Kelkar 1974)

### 7.2.3 Non-finite adjectival relative clauses

Non-finite adjectival relative clauses utilize present, past and future verbal participles. These constructions delete the relative correlative markers, and the final verb or the auxiliary is put in its corresponding participial form. The correlative noun follows the participle. The word order within the participial clause is fixed. The participle shows gender number agreement with the noun it modifies. The negative in the relative clause precedes the participle. Examples in (a) indicate full relative forms while those in (b) are their corresponding non-finite versions in literal translation.<sup>7</sup>

- (37) a. *ji mulgi hās-āt ahe ti mulgi ithe rah-t-e.* (Present)  
 REL girl laugh-PRES Be-PRES COREL girl here live-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘The girl who is laughing lives here.’  
 b. *hāsāt ās-lel-i mulgi ithe rah-t-e.*  
 laugh-PRES Be-2<sup>nd</sup>-PERF-3FSG girl here stay-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘Laughing girl lives here.’
- (38) a. *ji mulgi hāsā-l-i ti mulgi*  
 REL girl laugh-PAST-FSG REL girl  
 ‘The girl who laughed.’  
 b. *hāsā-lel-i mulgi*  
 laugh-2<sup>nd</sup>-PERF-3FSG girl



- (39) a. *ji mulgi həs-ɲar nahi ti mulgi*  
 REL girl laugh-PROS not COREL girl  
 ‘The girl who will not laugh.’  
 b. *nə həs-ɲar-i mulgi.*  
 not laugh-PTCP-FSG girl  
 ‘The not laughing girl.’
- (40) a. *lili-kəɖun je pustək wac-l-ə ge-l-ə nahi*  
 Lili-by REL book read-PERF-NSG go-PERF-NSG not  
*te pustək.*  
 COREL book  
 ‘The book which Lili could not read.’  
 b. *lili-kəɖun wac-l-ə nə ge-lel-ə pustək.*  
 Lili-by read-PERF-NSG not go-2<sup>nd</sup>-PERF-NSG book  
 ‘The book Lili could not read.’

#### 7.2.4 Adverbial correlative clauses

Adverbial clauses may be finite or non-finite. Most finite adverbial clauses are correlative type. The pair *J...T* connects the subordinate and the main clause. Adverbial clauses of cause, purpose and result lack the correlative form. They utilize independent morphemes to mark their onset. Adverbial finite clauses may precede or follow the main clause. They maintain the verb final order. The subordinate connective *J* may move within the clause but must precede the verb. It may even be deleted. Word movement within the clause is also possible with certain restrictions. Non-finite adverbial clauses utilize participial or infinitival verb forms as noted below.

##### 7.2.4.1 Temporal clauses

Finite temporal clauses

- (41) *jewhā lili ja-il tewhā mini ja-il.*  
 when Lili go-FUT then Mini go-FUT  
 ‘Mini will go when Lili will go.’
- (42) *jewhā jewhā lili ye-t-e tewhā tewhā babu həs-u*  
 when when Lilli come-IMPF-FSG then then Babu laugh-INCP  
*lag-t-o.*  
 begin-IMPF-MSG  
 ‘Whenever Lili comes Babu begins to laugh.’

- (43) *jopāryantā lili ye-ṇar nahi topāryantā mi uṭhā-ṇar nahi.*  
 until Lili come-PROS not till then I get-up-PROS not  
 ‘I will not get up until Lili comes.’ (I will not get up as long as Lili does not come.)

#### Non-finite temporal clauses

Non-finite temporal clauses utilize the present, past and conjunctive/completive participles to express various temporal semantic shades. The basic present participle in *tā* for example expresses action in progress, actions that happen simultaneously, actions at the moment of happening. It also conveys the sense of the conditional – if then, when followed by the auxiliary *as*. Note that Verb+*tā* is never used by itself except in poetry. The verb in the present participle is either duplicated as in (44), attached with *tānā/tana* (45), or used as a complex form with the auxiliary i.e., Verb+*astana* (46). All three indicate the progressive aspect. The subject may precede the adverbial as in (44), or the main clause as in (44a).

- (44) *babu baget cal-tā cal-tā khali pāḍ-l-a.*  
 Babu garden-in walk-PRP walk-PRP down fall-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Babu fell down while walking in the garden.’

Variation on (44):

- (44) a. *baget cal-ta cal-ta babu khali pāḍ-l-a.*  
 garden-in walk-PRP walk-PRP Babu down fall-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Babu fell down while walking in the garden.’
- (45) *babu baget cal-tānā khali pāḍ-l-a.*  
 Babu garden-in walk-PRP down fall-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Babu fell down while walking in the garden.’
- (46) *babu baget cal-ət as-tānā khali pāḍ-l-a.*  
 Babu garden-in walk-ADV be-PRP down fall-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Babu fell down while walking in the garden.’

The participle is attached with words like *kṣaṇic* ‘at the very moment’ or the particle *cə* to express the sense ‘as soon as’.

- (47) *lili bās-tā-kṣaṇic rāḍ-u lag-l-i.*  
 Lili sit-PRP-moment cry-INCP begin-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Lili began to cry the very moment she sat down.’
- (48) *babu baget ja-ta-c khali pāḍ-l-a.*  
 Babu garden-in go-PRP-soon as down fell-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Babu fell down as soon as he entered the garden.’

The perfective marker *l* followed by various postpositions is employed to express sequential, instantaneous, or inceptive actions.

- (49) *tu ge-l-ya-pasun mə-la čəin pəḏət nahi.*  
 you leave-PERF-OBL-since me-DAT rest fall not  
 ‘I have become restless ever since you left.’
- (50) *to bajaran ge-l-ya-la tin tas jha-l-e.*  
 he shop-in go-PERF-OBL-PP three hours-N become-PERF-NPL  
 ‘It has been three hours since he went to the market.’
- (51) *to kam ke-l-ya-wər jew-t-o.*  
 he work do-PERF-OBL-PP eat-IMP-3MSG  
 ‘He eats after working.’
- (52) *to ghəri a-l-ya-bərobər bayko-wər orəḏ-t-o.*  
 he home come-PERF-OBL-as soon wife-PP scream-IMP-3SG  
 ‘He screams at his wife as soon as he comes home.’

The completive participle in *un* also known as conjunctive expresses sequential events. The event described in the main clause follows the one in the completive.

- (53) *tya-la [te pustək wac-un] rəḏ-u a-l-ə.*  
 he-DAT that book read-COMPL cry-INCP come-PERF-NSG  
 ‘He began to cry after/on reading that book.’

The participle is also employed to express the termination of an activity or the temporal separation between two events. In this context the main clause takes the auxiliary *ho* ‘be/beome’.

- (54) *tya-la ghər soḏ-un don tas jha-l-e.*  
 he-DAT home leave-COMPL two hours-M be-PERF-MPL  
 ‘It has been two hours since he left home.’

#### 7.2.4.2 Manner clauses

Finite manner clauses employ the correlatives *jəsə/təsə, jya ritine/tya ritine* ‘which manner/that manner’.

- (55) *jəsə to weḏwakḏə bol-t-o təsə (weḏwakəḏə) ti*  
 wh-way he crazy speak-IMP-MSG that crazy way she  
*bol-t-e.*  
 speak-IMP-FSG  
 ‘She speaks the same crazy way he does.’

Non-finite manner clauses employ the bare present participle *t* or the completive *un*. Both participles are often reduplicated to enhance the effect. Addition of the negative *nā* before Verb+*ta* indicates ‘without that manner/way’.

- (56) *to hās-ət hās-ət bol-t-o.*  
 he laugh-PRP laugh-PRP speak-IMPF-MSG  
 ‘He speaks laughingly.’
- (57) *tya-ne ti-la nirkhun pahy-l-ə.*  
 he-ERG she-DAT intently see-PERF-NSG  
 ‘He looked at her intently.’
- (58) *to nā orəḍ-ta ma-jhya-ši bol-t-o.*  
 he not shout-IMPF me-POSS-OBL-PP talk-IMPF-MSG  
 ‘He talks to me without shouting.’

#### 7.2.4.3 Locative clauses

Finite locative clauses employ the correlative pair *jithe/tithe* ‘where/there’; or compounded lexical pairs such as *jya jagi/tya jagi* ‘which place/that place’. The correlative does not reduce to non-finite form. The compound lexical forms reduce to non-finite adjectival clause/phrase. These are derived by means of various verbal participles. (Compare (60) and (61).)

- (59) *jithe tu ja-t-os tithe mini ja-t-e.*  
 where you-M go-IMPF-2MSG there Mini go-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini goes wherever you go.’
- (60) *jya jagi tu ge-la-s tyā jagi mini ge-l-i.*  
 which place you go-PERF-2SG that place Mini go-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini went to the place you did/went.’
- (61) *tu ge-lel-ya-jagi mini ge-l-i.*  
 you go-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-OBL-place Mini go-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini went to the place you went.’

#### 7.2.4.4 Equative clauses

Finite equative clauses use the correlative pattern to express quantity, degree, kind, quality *-jitke-titke, jās/tās* ‘as many/as much, same kind’. Non-finite equatives employ the particles *itka/itki/ itkā* ‘as much, M, F, N’ as in (63); or *sarkha, sarkhi, sarkhā* ‘similar, M, F, N’ as in (65). All equative connectors inflect for gender and number of the noun they qualify.

- (62) *lili jitk-i sundār ahe titk-i (sundār) mini nahi.*  
 Lili as much-FSG beautiful Be-PRES that much-FSG beautiful Mini not  
 ‘Mini is not as beautiful as Lili.’

- (63) *mini lili itk-i sundar nahi.*  
Mini-F Lili-F as much-FSG beautiful not  
‘Mini is as beautiful as Lili.’
- (64) *jāši ai tāši mulgi.*  
such-FSG mother such-FSG daughter  
‘Like mother like daughter.’
- (65) *ai sarkh-i mulgi*  
mother like-FSG daughter  
‘Mother is like daughter.’

#### 7.2.4.5 Conditional clauses

Finite conditionals are marked by the pair *jār/tār* ‘if/then’. The conditional is made emphatic or forceful by employing the past tense. The conditional may be weakened, though not necessarily, by deleting *jār* ‘if’ as in (67), or employing a non-finite form as in (68). Non-finite conditionals utilize the perfective in *l* followed by an appropriate postposition as in (68).

- (66) *jār lili a-l-i tār ti-la mi pusək de-in.*  
if Lili come-PERF-FSG then her-DAT I book give-FUT-1SG  
‘If Lili comes, I will give her the book.’
- (67) *lili a-l-i āsti tār ti-la mi pustək di-l-ə ās-tā.*  
Lili come-PAST be-PAST then her-DAT I book-N give-PERF-NSG be-FUT  
‘If Lili had come, I would have given her the book.’
- (68) *lili a-l-y-as mi ti-la pustək de-in.*  
Lili come-PERF-OBL-PP I-1SG her-DAT book give-FUT-1SG  
‘If Lili comes I will give her the book.’

#### 7.2.4.6 Concessive clauses

The correlative concessive pair is *jāri/tāri* ‘even if/even then’. Both *jāri* and *tāri* are suffixed with the particles *hi/suddha* for emphasis. The relative *jāri* is often deleted as in (70). Addition of an interrogative to the subordinate clause renders the sense of ‘no matter what’ (71). A non-finite concessive indicates antithetical sense. It employs the auxiliary *āsun* with the emphatic particle *hi* as in (72)–(73).

- (69) *jāri tu majhi ai ās-li-s tāri mi tu-la mādāt*  
REL you my mother be-PERF-2SG COREL I you-DAT help  
*kār-ṇar nahi.*  
do-PROS not  
‘I will not help you even though you are my mother.’
- (70) *tu mā-la lac di-li-s tāri-hi mi ye-ṇar nahi.*  
you I-DAT bribe-F give-PERF-2SG COREL-EMPH I come-PROS not  
‘I will not come even if you bribe me.’

- (71) *tu kiti-hi orḍ-l-a-s t̥ari-hi mi uṭh-ṇar nahi.*  
 you how-much scream-PERF-2MSG even then-EMPH I get-up-PROS not  
 ‘No matter how much you scream I will not get up.’
- (72) *majha bhau asun-hi tu m̥a-la m̥ad̥at ke-l-i nahi-s.*  
 my brother being-EMPH you I-DAT help-F do-PERF-3FSG not-2SG  
 ‘You did not help me even though you are my brother.’
- (73) *weḍa asun-hi to ś̥ahanya-sarkh-a bol-t-o.*  
 crazy being-EMPH he wise-like-MSG speak-IMP-3SG  
 ‘He speaks like a wise man even though he is crazy.’

### 7.2.5 Conjunctive adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses expressing cause, result, intention, and purpose do not use the correlative pattern. They employ conjunctive particles such as *kar̥ṇ*, *m̥h̥ṇun*, *s̥ab̥ab*, *hetu*, *ya hetu-ne* ‘because, so, therefore, reason, intention, with this intention’ in their finite version. The intention clause uses the desiderative/subjunctive in the subordinate clause. Non-finite counterparts of these clauses employ infinitives, or participles with appropriate postpositions as in (75), (78), (80), (81). Some examples follow.

#### Cause

- (74) *lili uṣira a-l-i kar̥ṇ (ki/ka ki) ti kam-at ho-t-i.*  
 Lili late come-PERF-3FSG because COMP she work-PP be-PAST-FSG  
 ‘Lili came late because she was working/busy.’
- (75) *kam-at as̥a-lya-muḷe lili uṣira a-l-i.*  
 work-PP be-PERF-OBL-PP Lili late come-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Being involved in work Lili came late.’

#### Reason

- (76) *lili kamat ho-t-i m̥h̥ṇun uṣira a-l-i.*  
 Lili work-PP be-PAST-FSG so late come-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Because Lili was working so she came late.’

#### Intention/reason

- (77) *lili-la bheṭ-aw̥a m̥h̥ṇun mi a-l-o ahe.*  
 Lili-DAT visit-OBL-DESI so I-MSG come-PERF-MSG Be-PRES  
 ‘I have come in order to see Lili.’

- (78) *lili-la bheṭ-ṇya-saṭhi (mhəṇun) mi a-l-o ahe.*  
 Lili-DAT visit-INF-PP so I-MSG come-PERF-MSG Be-PRES  
 'I have come in order to see Lili.'
- (79) *sinema-la ja-wə hya uddeṣane mi tayar jha-l-o.*  
 cinema-PP go-DESI this intention I-MSG ready be-PERF-1MSG  
 'I got ready with the intention of going to a movie.'
- (80) *sinemala ja-y-čya uddeṣa-ne mi tayar jha-l-o.*  
 cinema go-DESI-PP intention-PP I-MSG ready be-PERF-1MSG  
 'I got ready with the intention of going to a movie.'
- (81) *lili oraḍ-l-ya-ne mini ghabər-l-i.*  
 Lili scream-PERF-OBL-PP Mini scare-PERF-FSG  
 'Mini got scared because Lili screamed/Lili's screaming scared Mini.'

## Notes

1. In the traditional Indian grammars the correlative is known as *sambandhi* and *anusambandhi* 'relative and its companion'. Marathi correlatives closely follow the Sanskrit pattern.

In Chomskian tradition it is often called an adjoined relative clause. (See Andrews 1995 for cross language details.) Marathi correlatives have been extensively studied in generative frameworks. See for example Andrews (1974), Junghare (1974), A. R. Kelkar (1974), Gupta (1975), Wali (1982), Pandharipande (1997).

2. See Renou (1930) for an interesting historical account of these constructions.

3. Logophoric pronouns primarily refer to the subject and object of the main clause. The embedded clause is thus a replica of the direct speech. The expected pronominal reference to the speaker and the addressee of the current speech act is usually suppressed. (See Clements 1987.)

4. Marathi infinitives do not always translate into parallel English infinitives. In fact Navalkar (1925) has branded the Marathi infinitive with *ne* as a gerund and *u* as an infinitive on the basis of their English translation. We differ from Navalkar's interpretation. Mere translation can not form a basis for proper classification. Note also that there are no gerunds in Marathi. The perfective form *-l* suffixed to adverbs as in *ge-l-ya-pasun*, *a-l-y-a-ne* 'ever since left/gone, due to coming' have been classified as a gerund in some grammars. (See Pandharipande 1997.) However this classification is doubtful. Many grammarians regard it as a simple adverbial suffixation. We follow this analysis.

5. Note that if a relativised noun belongs to the neuter gender the sentence becomes ambiguous between a free relative and an interrogative.

- (i) *tya-nə kay ghetlā te mə-la ṭhauk nahi.*  
 he-ERG Q/REL take-PAST that/COREL I-DAT know not  
 (Interrogative/relative)  
 'I don't know what he took' (Interrogative) / what / which he took that I don't know.'  
 (Free relative)

However there is a difference. A free relative clause is followed by the appropriate correlative that matches in number and gender of the relative counterpart. In contrast the open interrogative clause is followed by the subordinator neuter *te/he* as in (ii). Secondly only a free relative allows optional *J* marker as in (iii). *J* is not possible in the open interrogative as in (ii) (see Damle ([1911]1970).

(ii) *tyan kay ghetlā te/he māla ṭhauk nahi.* (Open interrogative version of (i))

(iii) *ithā (jo) kay prakar jha-l-a to māla ṭhauk nahi.*  
 Here REL-3MSG Q stuff happen-PERF-MSG COREL I-DAT know not  
 ‘Whatever happened here I don’t know.’

6. Multiple headed relatives are the most complex and least studied constructions in traditional as well as modern syntactic theories. There is no clue as to their proper syntactic structure and its implication.

According to Andrews (1974) the multiple correlatives are best explained in terms of logic. His analysis for (28a) for example would be something like this: For the unique ordered pair where *x* is a girl and *y* is a book, and *x* read *y*, *x* liked it.’ The analysis seems to capture the essence of (28a). It can be easily extended to any number of relativized NPs as in (i) or any extension of it.

(i) *jya muline jya mulala je pustāk prejhent dilā hotā tine tyala*  
 REL girl REL Boy REL Book present gave be-PAST COREL COREL  
*te adhi dakhāwlā hotā.*  
 COREL before shown be-PAST  
 ‘Which girl which boy which book had given as a present, she had shown that book to him earlier.’

The unique ordered pair being (*x* is a girl, *y* is a boy, *z* is a book and *x* gave *z* to *y*; *x* had shown *z* to *y* earlier.’

Note: An extensive analysis of these constructions within semantic framework is available in Veneeta Dayal (1996). Her analysis is based on Hindi relative clauses that are quite similar to Marathi.

7. Note that the direct object in the context of a nominative subject as in (i), and ergative subject in the perfective as in (ii) does not undergo participial formation.

(i) *\*lili wacā-t ās-lel-ā pustāk*  
 Lili read-PRP be-PSP-NSG book-NSG  
 ‘Lili reading book i.e. the book Lili is reading.’

(ii) *\*pustāk wac-lel-i mulgi*  
 book read-PSP-FSG girl  
 ‘Book read girl i.e. the girl who has read the book.’



## CHAPTER 8

# Compound sentences

### 8.0 Coordination

There are three major coordinators namely, conjunctives, disjunctives and adverbatives. Traditional grammarians have also listed resultatives, equatives and a few others as conjunctives but they are mainly adverbials and are described as such in this book.

### 8.1 Conjunctive coordinators

The basic conjunctive coordinator is *aṇi* ‘and’ with alternates such as *wə*, *aṇkhi*, *aṇkhin*, *aṇik*, *ən*. The first alternate i.e., *wə* is a Perso-Arabic borrowing. It is used mostly in literary styles however, its use is increasing in modern Marathi. The rest are used in colloquial speech and are ambiguous between a conjunction and an adverb implying ‘more’. Here we will confine ourselves to *ani*, its syntax, its position, and its agreement complexity.

### 8.2 Sentence coordination

Any number of sentences can be coordinated with *aṇi*, which is always placed before the last conjunct. In a sequence of more than two sentences, all preceding sentences before the last are simply juxtaposed as in (2). Alternatively, coordination may appear simply as a sequence of juxtaposed sentences with complete absence of *aṇi* as in (3). Identical constituents are often deleted. Agreement is confined to the constituents in each sentence.

- (1) *babu ge-l-a                      aṇi lili ghəri a-l-i.*  
Babu go-PERF-3MSG and Lili home come-PERF-3FSG  
‘Babu left and Lili came home.’

- (2) *babu ge-l-a, lili ghəri a-l-i, aṇi lāgec*  
 Babu go-PERF-3MSG Lili home come-PERF-3FSG and immediately  
*minila phon ke-l-a.*  
 Mini-DAT phone-3MSG do-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Babu left, Lili came home and immediately phoned Mini.’

(Variation on (2))

- (2) a. *babu ge-l-a, lili ghəri a-l-i, lāgec minila phon ke-l-a.*  
 (3) *babu bajar-at ge-l-a, bhopḷa aṇ-l-a,*  
 Babu shop-PP go-PERF-3MSG pumpkin-3MSG buy-PERF-3MSG  
*cir-l-a, aṇi šijəw-l-a.*  
 cut-PERF-3MSG and cook-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘Babu went shopping, bought a pumpkin, cut it, and cooked it.’

Sentence coordination is used to express various semantic nuances, such as contrast, contingency, sequential events, and even causal connections.

- (4) *lili huṣar ahe aṇi babu ḍhə ahe.*  
 Lili intelligent Be-PRES and Babu stupid Be-PRES  
 ‘Lili is intelligent and Babu is stupid.’  
 (5) *cangli mulgi pəh-a aṇi lagnə kər-a.*  
 good girl see-IMP and marriage do-IMP  
 ‘Find a good girl and get married.’  
 (6) *lili a-l-i aṇi rəḍ-u lag-l-i.*  
 Lili come-PERF-3FSG and cry-INCP begin-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Lili came and began to cry.’  
 (7) *paus a-l-a aṇi phulə umə-ll-i.*  
 rain come-PERF-3MSG and flowers-FPL bloom-PERF-3FPL  
 ‘It rained and the flowers bloomed.’

### 8.3 Constituent coordination

In constituent coordination in most cases, *aṇi* is placed before the last conjunct. A postposition of the same type may be deleted from the same conjunct.

#### 8.3.1 Noun coordination

Nouns of all categories may be coordinated. However, the coordination is complicated by the fact that in Marathi, both case and agreement systems are com-

plex. (See Chapter 5.) Noun coordination requires coordinate nouns to bear the same case. In short, nouns obey what we call a ‘case constraint’. It prevents a nominative noun from coordinating with an ergative or a dative cased noun. Note that verb agreement is always with a direct cased noun irrespective of its grammatical status.

#### Case constraint

- (8) *lili sudha aṇi mini ghərat ho-t-y-a.*  
 Lili Sudha and Mini house-PP be-PERF-3FPL  
 ‘Lili, Sudha and Mini were in the house.’
- (9) *lilil-ni mādhu-ni aṇi mini-ni rāja-la paḷṇ-y-at*  
 Lili-ERG Madhu-ERG and Mini-ERG Raja-DAT crib-OBL-PP  
*ṭhew-l-ə.*  
 put-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Lili, Madhu and Mini put Raja in the crib.’
- (10) *lili-paṣi aṇi mini-paṣi don don gaḍ-ya ahe-t.*  
 Lili-PP and Mini-PP two two car-FPL Be-PRES-3FPL  
 ‘Lili and Mini each have two cars.’
- (11) *lili-ne ambe keḷi aṇi peru kha-ll-a/e.*  
 Lili-ERG mango-MPL banana-NPL and guava-MSG eat-PERF-MSG/MPL  
 ‘Lili ate mangoes, bananas, and a guava.’

#### 8.3.1.1 Agreement

Coordinate agreement is dependent on the conjoining category. Agreement for nouns differs from that in pronouns. Similarly, certain verbs impose a distinct agreement pattern of their own.

#### Nouns

Agreement rules in coordinate nouns are complex. They divide into three types, namely – Last Conjunct agreement, Plural agreement, or Masculine agreement. The last rule is governed by gender superiority as exemplified below. The rule is at times superseded by plural agreement. The complexity is related to the number gender system. Recall that Marathi has two numbers and three genders, namely, masculine, feminine and neuter. Coordinated nouns may belong to different genders and numbers producing an array of combinations such as MPL&FPL; FPL&MPL; NPL&FSG; MSG&NSG. The verb agrees with the last conjunct if the conjunct is plural irrespective of its gender as in (12), (13), (14), (15). It obeys the ‘Last Conjunct Agreement rule’. However, if the last conjunct is singular, in some

dialects gender superiority takes over. A verb may agree with the last conjunct only if the last conjunct is masculine as in (16), (18) or neuter as in (20). In all other cases, the verb shows a masculine plural agreement pattern as in (19a). Clearly, a case of gender superiority. Feminine agreement takes place only if both conjuncts are feminine. This is shown in (13b), (19b).

Last conjunct agreement:

*Plural & plural*

- (12) *te nokar aṇi tya muli pəḷ-un ge-l-ya.*  
 those servants and those girls-PL run-COMPL go-PERF-3FPL  
 ‘Those servants and those girls ran away.’
- (13) a. *tya muli aṇi te nokar pəḷ-un ge-l-et.*  
 those girls and those servant-PL run-COMPL go-PERF-3MPL  
 ‘Those girls and those servants ran away.’  
 b. *tya muli aṇi tya bay-ka pəḷ-un ge-l-ya.*  
 those girls and those woman-PL run-COMPL go-PERF-3FPL  
 ‘Those girls and those women ran away.’

*Singular & plural*

- (14) *to nokar aṇi tya muli pəḷ-un ge-l-ya.*  
 that servant and those girl-PL run-COMPL go-PERF-FPL  
 ‘That servant and those girls ran away.’
- (15) a. *ti mulgi aṇi te nokar pəḷ-un ge-l-et.*  
 that girl and those servants-MPL run-COMPL go-PERF-MPL  
 ‘That girl and those servants ran away.’  
 b. *ti mulgi aṇi tya bay-ka pəḷ-un ge-l-ya.*  
 that girl and those woman-PL run-COMPL go-PERF-3FPL  
 ‘That girl and those women ran away.’

*Plural & singular*

- (16) *tya muli aṇi to nokar pəḷ-un ge-l-a / \*ge-l-ya.*  
 those girls and that servant ran-COMPL go-PERF-3MSG / go-PERF-3FPL  
 ‘Those girls and that servant ran away.’
- (17) *te nokar aṇi ti mulgi pəḷ-un ge-l-et / ?ge-l-i.*  
 those servants and that girl run-COMPL go-PERF-3MPL / 3FSG  
 ‘Those servants and that girl ran away.’

*Singular & singular*

- (18) *ti mulgi aṇi to nokər pəl-un ge-l-a / gel-et.*  
 that girl and that servant run-COMPL go-PERF-3MSG / 3MPL  
 ‘That girl and that servant ran away.’
- (19) a. *to nokər aṇi ti mulgi pəl-un ge-l-et.*  
 that servant and that girl run-COMPL go-PERF-3MPL  
 ‘That servant and that girl ran away.’  
 b. *ti bai aṇi ti mulgi pəl-un ge-l-i.*  
 that woman and that girl run-COMPL go-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘That woman and that girl ran away.’
- (20) *to nokər aṇi te makəd pəl-un ge-l-e.*  
 that servant and that monkey-NSG run-COMPL go-PERF-3MPL  
 ‘That servant and that monkey ran away.’

**8.3.2** Pronoun coordination

The presence of a 1st and 2nd person pronoun in a conjunct brings in a totally different agreement pattern. Agreement takes the plural form of the highest person irrespective of the pronominal order and number. However, if all conjuncts are in the third person the agreement may be masculine plural displaying gender superiority or obeying the last conjunct rule as is the case with nouns.

## 1st SG + 2nd SG &gt; 1st PL

- (21) *mi aṇi tu udya ghəri ja-u.*  
 I and you tomorrow home go-FUT-1PL  
 ‘I and you will go home tomorrow.’

## 2nd SG + 1st SG &gt; 1st PL

- (22) *tu aṇi mi udya ghəri ja-u.*  
 you and I tomorrow home go-FUT-1PL  
 ‘You and I will go home tomorrow.’

## 1st PL + 2nd PL &gt; 1st PL

- (23) *amhi aṇi tumhi ata baher bəs-u ya.*  
 we and you-PL now outside sit-HORT  
 ‘Let you and us sit outside now.’

2nd SG + 3rd SG > 2nd PL

- (24) *tu aṇi tya muli baḡet ja-ṇar ah-at.*  
 you and those girls garden go-FUT Be-2PL  
 'You and the girls are going in the garden.'

Third person combination

- (25) *to aṇi ti phiray-la ge-l-e ho-t-e.*  
 he and she walk-PP go-PERF-3MPL be-PAST-3MPL  
 'He and she had gone for a walk.'

### 8.3.3 Special verbs

Certain verbs and constructions impose joint agreement on the conjoined elements.

- (26) *lili aṇi babu ekmeka-ṣi nehmi bhaṇḍ-t-at.*  
 Lili and Babu each-other-PP always fight-IMPf-3PL  
 'Lili and Babu always fight with each other.'
- (27) *lili aṇi mini ekasarkhya dis-t-at.*  
 Lili and Mini similar look-IMPf-3PL  
 'Lili and Mini look alike.'
- (28) *lili aṇi mini julya bahiṇ-i ahe-t.*  
 Lili and Mini twin sister-PL Be-PRES-3PL  
 'Lili and Mini are twin sisters.'

Coordination of adjectives, adverbs, and active and passive verbs

- (29) *lili jara bawli aṇi weḍi ahe.*  
 Lili little-bit disorderly and crazy Be-PRES  
 'Lili is a little bit disorderly and crazy.'
- (30) *lili haḷu haḷu aṇi māṇḍ swar-at bol-t-e.*  
 Lili slowly slowly and dim voice-PP speak-IMPf-3FSG  
 'Lili speaks slowly and in a low voice.'
- (31) *lili cendaṇḍu phēk-t-e aṇi jhel-t-e.*  
 Lili ball-N throw-IMPf-FSG and catch-IMPf-FSG  
 'Lili throws the ball and catches it.'
- (32) *raja baṣ-t-o uṭh-t-o aṇi dhaw-u lag-t-o.*  
 Raja sit-IMPf-MSG get-up-IMPf-MSG and run-INCP begin-IMPf-MSG  
 'Raja sits down, gets up and begins to run.'

## Active and passive verbs

- (33) *to kholi-t šir-l-a aṇi lægec pəkḍ-l-a*  
 he room-PP enter-PERF-MSG and immediately catch-PERF-MSG  
*ge-l-a.*  
 PASS-PERF-MSG  
 ‘He entered the room and was immediately caught.’

## 8.4 Deletion of identical elements

Most major syntactic elements such as subjects, objects, adjectives, and verbs may be deleted under identity with a preceding element. Some examples follow.

- (34) *lili-la mādhu awḍ-t-o aṇi rāḷa pəṇ.*  
 Lili-DAT Madhu like-IMPF-MSG and Raja also  
 ‘Lili likes Madhu and also Raja.’
- (35) *lili wər aṇi mini khali rah-t-e.*  
 Lili top and Mini down live-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Lili lives upstairs and Mini downstairs.’
- (36) *aj lili puṇy-a-la ja-il aṇi mini-la bheṭ-el.*  
 today Lili Pune-OBL-PP go-FUT and Mini-DAT meet-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Today Lili will go to Pune and meet/see Mini.’

## 8.5 Coordination and accompaniment

Accompaniment is expressed by the postpositions *bərobər* or *səh* ‘with’. Note that though coordination and accompaniment express the same sense they are structurally different. While that former is a conjoined structure, the latter encodes a simple sentence. In the accompaniment, the verb agrees with the subject *lili* and allows the possessive reflexive *apəṇ* as in (37). In coordination, the agreement may be plural or singular and the conjunct does not allow the reflexive to have an antecedent in the preceding clause as seen in (38). The antecedent requirements for a reflexive and a pronoun are different (see Chapter 11).

## Accompaniment

- (37) *lili apl-ya mul-a bərobər a-l-i.*  
 Lili self-POSS son-OBL with come-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Lili came with her son.’

## Coordination

- (38) *lili ani \*apla / tica mulga barobār a-l-et.*  
 Lili and self-POSS / her son together come-PERF-3PL  
 ‘Lili and her son came together.’

## 8.6 Disjunctive structures

There are three disjunctives, *kīwa*, *ka/ki*, and *əthəva* all expressing the sense of ‘or’. The first, *kīwa* is prevalent. The second, *ka/ki* is used in interrogatives and in subordinate clauses expressing the sense of ‘whether’. The last is confined to the formal language. In both sentence and constituent coordination *kīwa* is placed immediately before the last sentence or constituent as the case may be. It may also appear before each sentence or sentential constituent. It is never placed in the beginning of the first sentence or first sentence constituent. Although *kīwa* allows a juxtaposed sequence like *aṇI*, unlike *aṇi* it may however not be totally absent from the sequence. The last placement of *kīwa* is obligatory. The negative disjunction, unlike the unitary positive one, is expressed by a negative pair *nə/na ... nə/na* similar to English ‘neither ... nor’. The negative precedes each constituent participating in the disjunction. Negative disjunctions allow certain limited word order variations. Agreement in the disjunctive structure is always with the last element of the disjunction as is to be expected.

- (39) *lili ghəri ge-l-i əs-el kīwa bag-et bəsli əs-el.*  
 Lili home go-PAST be-FUT or garden-PP sit be-FUT  
 ‘Lili may have gone home or she may be sitting in the garden.’
- (40) *lili baget ge-l-i ka/ki ghəri rahy-l-i?*  
 Lili garden go-PERF-FSG or home stay-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Did Lili go in the garden or stay home?’
- (41) *lili baget ge-l-i ka/ki ghər-i rahy-l-i he mə-la*  
 Lili garden go-PERF-3FSG or home-PP stay-PERF-3FSG this I-DAT  
*ṭhauk nahi.*  
 know not  
 ‘I don’t know whether Lili went into the garden or stayed home.’
- (42) *lili na baget ge-l-i na ghəri rahy-l-i.*  
 Lili not garden go-PERF-3FSG not home stay-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Lili neither went into the garden nor did she stay home.’  
*na lili baget ge-l-i na ghəri rahy-l-i.* (Variation)



### 8.6.1 Sentence constituents

All sentence constituents employ *kīwa* or *na ... na*. Some examples follow.

- (43) *lili kīwa babu ghəri ja-il.*  
 Lili-FSG or Babu-MSG home go-FUT-3SG  
 ‘Lili or Babu will go home.’
- (44) *te biskiṭ god, kharəṭ kīwa kəḍu əsu šək-t-ə*  
 that-NSG biscuit-NSG sweet, salty or bitter may possible-IMPF-NSG  
 ‘That biscuit may be sweet, salty or bitter.’

#### Adverbs

- (45) *lili-ne həlu həlu, kīwa jorane aṇi ṭhasun bolay-la pahije.*  
 Lili-ERG slowly slowly or loudly and forcefully speak-PP should  
 ‘Lili should speak either slowly, or loudly and forcefully.’

#### Verbs

- (46) *lili baḷa-la ucəl-t-e kīwa khali ṭhew-t-e. to*  
 Lili baby-DAT lift-IMPF-3FSG or down keep-IMPF-3FSG he  
*rəḍ-aycə thambət nahi.*  
 cry-PROS stop not  
 ‘Lili lifts the baby or puts him down. Whether Lili lifts the baby up or puts him down, he does not stop crying.’

#### Interrogative disjunction

- (47) *to diwəs-bhər əbhyas kər-t-o ka/ki nustya ṭəvalya?*  
 he day-long study do-IMPF-3MSG or just gossip  
 ‘Does he study all day long or does he just gossip?’

#### Negative disjunction

- (48) *na to lih-t-o na to wac-t-o.*  
 Not he write-IMPF-3MSG not he read-IMPF-3MSG  
 ‘He neither reads nor writes.’  
*to na lihto na vacto.* (Variation)

### 8.7 Adversative structures

The three adversative coordinators *pəṇ*, *pəṛəntu*, and *təṭhapi* ‘but’ are semantically identical except in their usage. The last one is used mostly in formal contexts. The first two are nearly exchangeable.

Adversative conjunctions encode a contrast with various semantic implications. In a certain sense, the adversative sets a limit on the opening constituent. The identical constituent is deleted.

- (49) *lili hušar ahe pəṇ əbhyas kəṛə-t nahi.*  
 Lili intelligent Be-PRES but study do-IMPF not.  
 ‘Lili is intelligent but does not study.’
- (50) *babu khup əbhyas kəṛ-t-o pəṛəntu pas hoil ki nahi he*  
 Babu lot study do-IMPF-MSG but pass happen or not COMP  
*sangta yet nahi.*  
 say come not  
 ‘Babu studies a lot but it cannot be predicted whether he will pass or not.’

The adversative is absent if the contradiction uses a negative or vice versa. The sequence is simply juxtaposed.

- (51) *babu-ne tu-la phon ke-l-a, mə-la nahi.*  
 Babu-ERG you-DAT phone-MSG do-PERF-MSG I-DAT not  
 ‘Babu phoned you, not me.’
- (52) *babu-ne phon ke-l-a nahi, swətah-cə a-l-a.*  
 Babu-ERG phone-M do-PAST-MSG not self-EMPH come-PAST-MSG  
 ‘Babu did not phone, he came personally.’

## CHAPTER 9

# Interrogative sentences

### 9.0 Introduction

In generative grammars, interrogative structures have been classified into two broad categories commonly known as Yes-no questions and WH-questions. More recently, they have been classified as Closed vs. Open questions (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). The first classification, though widely used, is rather English specific. The second defines interrogatives in general terms across languages and is semantically motivated. Answers to Yes-no questions form a closed set of two, while answers to WH-questions are like an open set. The division into close vs. open is thus apt and universal. We will adopt this classification for Marathi though we will also use the terms Yes-no and WH-questions to be on the familiar ground.

### 9.1 Marathi interrogatives

Traditional grammarians of Marathi described interrogative structures at the morphological level only. They paid no attention to their syntactic properties. It is only recently that these syntactic properties have been described in any detail. (See Pandharipande 1997; Wali 1988, 2005.)

Marathi interrogatives of both the closed and open type begin with the letter *K*, with one exception, namely, the leading question marker *nə/na*. Closed interrogatives divide into three subtypes, namely: *ka* the neutral question marker; *ki* the alternative question marker, and *nə/na* the marker for leading questions or tags. Open interrogatives form a singular set namely, WH-questions.

The interrogative *ka*<sup>1</sup> of Yes-no questions is essentially an adverbial particle. It is devoid of inflection and obligatorily follows the verb and the negative if any. This rule operates across all word order variations. The open interrogatives – *kon*, *kay*, *konca*, *kēvha*, *kay* ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘which’, ‘when’, ‘why’ belong to various grammatical categories, such as pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs. They normally occupy the original place of their respective category. Their position is not cued to a verb as is the case with the Yes-no marker *ka*. They may be placed in various

positions in a sentence with certain restrictions noted in their appropriate sections. Interrogative pronouns inflect for case. Adjectives show gender number agreement with the noun they qualify.

## 9.2 Closed interrogatives

### 9.2.1 Neutral questions

Neutral questions, i.e., Yes-no questions, are found with both affirmative and negative verbs. The interrogator assumes that his/her question has a right or true answer, though he/she does not know whether the answer is positive ‘yes’ or negative ‘no’. The question itself in that sense is neutral. It is not biased towards any particular answer. Questions with negative verbs appear to carry a bias. However, this bias should not be confused with its presupposition. Questions with negative verbs also presume/presuppose that only one answer is right/true. It follows that questions with both affirmative and negative verbs carry exactly the same presupposition: namely, there is only one true/right answer.

#### Neutral question markers

A neutral question is marked by a rising intonation on the verb or on the adverbial particle *ka* placed after the verb. Both represent the equivalent of an English ‘yes-no’ type question. They are used in both affirmative and negative contexts. The verb and the negative carry the inflection markers. In either context the answer may be *ho* ‘yes’ or *nahi* ‘no’. These questions are thus neutral with respect to the answer.

#### Word order and variations

In a simple affirmative sentence, *ka* must be placed after the verb although the combination (verb + *ka*) may be moved within the sentence. The movement preserves the interrogative sense. In a negative sentence, *ka* is normally placed after the negative, which follows the verb. The verb and the negative carry their own agreement markers. In sum, *ka* must follow the verb in an affirmative context. In the negative context, *ka* follows the negative, and the verb may stay in-situ or follow the (NEG + *ka*) combination.

- (1) *tu ghari ge-l-a ho-t-as ka?*  
 you home go-PERF-2SG be-PAST-2SG Q  
 ‘Did you go home?’

*tu ge-l-a hotas ka ghəri?* (Variation 1)

*ge-la hota-s ka tu ghəri?* (Variation 2)

- (2) *ti tithe ge-l-i nahi ka?*

she there go-PERF-3SG not Q

‘Didn’t she go there?’

*ti tithe nahi ka ge-l-i?* (Variation 1)

*ti nahi ka tithe ge-l-i?* (Variation 2)

*nahi ka ti tithe ge-l-i?* (Variation 3)

In a finite subordinate clause embedded under verbs of knowledge, belief, or communication *ka* is placed after the main verb to generate a question. Interestingly, the main clause may precede or follow the subordinate clause. Use of *ka* with verbs of inquiry expresses the sense of English ‘whether’ as in (3), (4).

- (3) *tu-la mahit ahe ka ki lili khol-it nahi?*

you-DAT know Be-PRES Q COMP Lili room-PP not

‘Do you know that Lili is not in the room?’

*Lili kholit nahi he tu-la mahit ahe ka?* (Variation)

- (4) *tya-ni wičar-l-ə ki lili kholi-t ahe ka?*

he-ERG ask-PERF-NSG COMP Lili room-PP Be-PRES Q

‘He asked whether Lili is in the room?’

*Lili kholit ahe ka əsə tyani vičarlə?* (Variation)

In certain contexts *ka* – ‘Yes-no’ is used as a parenthetical or a request rather than a question. For instance, in the following dialogue as in (5), (6), *ka* in (6) is used to express surprise.

- (5) *rəwi kalə- c a-l-a.*

Ravi-M yesterday-only come-PERF-3MSG

‘Ravi came yesterday only.’

- (6) *əsə ka? / ho ka?*

so Q yes Q

‘Is that so?’

### 9.2.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions ask the listener for a choice of answers. The choice is limited to the topics included in the question itself. It is thus a closed type of question and fits into a sub-variety of *ka* questions.

Alternative questions employ the particle *ki* ‘or’. Minimum alternatives are two but there can be more. Identical elements are deleted in the final clause. *ki* is

usually placed before the final clause but it may follow each clause except the final one. In a subordinate clause *ki* indicates the sense of ‘whether’.

- (7) *tu-la čaha pahije ki dudh?*  
 you-DAT tea want or milk  
 ‘Do you want tea or milk?’
- (8) *tu čaha ghe-ṇar ki nahi?*  
 you tea take-PROS or not  
 ‘Will you have tea or not?’
- (9) *tu pustak wac-t-es ki phəkt tiwhi pah-t-es?*  
 you book read-IMPF-2FSG or only TV watch-IMPF-2FSG  
 ‘Do you read books or only watch TV?’
- (10) *lili-ni wičar-l-ə ki tu-la čaha pahije ki dudh?*  
 Lili-ERG ask-PERF-NSG COMP you-DAT tea want or milk  
 ‘Lili asked whether you want tea or milk.’

### 9.2.3 Leading Yes/no questions

Leading Yes/no questions, i.e., tags, expect confirmation of the speaker’s belief. They have a tone of politeness, and a falling intonation. The speaker’s presupposition is encoded in the declarative portion preceding the tag in both positive and negative contexts. Leading questions thus differ from Yes-no questions, which convey a neutral presupposition, are not tinged with politeness, and have a rising intonation. Leading questions in Marathi<sup>2</sup> attach the simple negative tag *nə/na* ‘no’ (TAG1), or a compound tag *ho nə* ‘yes, no’ (TAG2) at the end of a sentence irrespective of its positive or negative polarity. A difference between *nə* and *ho nə/na* shows up in their movement. The combination verb + *nə/na*, or verb + neg + *nə/na* may be moved within the sentence. The compound tag *ho-nə/na* on the other hand must be placed sentence finally though the other elements within the sentence have the usual freedom of movement.

- (11) a. *ti te pətrə wac-el nə/ho-nə?*  
 she that letter read-FUT TAG1/TAG2  
 ‘She will read that letter, won’t she?’
- b. *wacel nə ti te pətrə?* (TAG1)
- c. *te pətrə ti vacel, ho nə?* (TAG2)
- d. *ti te pətrə wacə-ṇar nahi nə/ho nə?*  
 she that letter read-FUT not TAG1/TAG2  
 ‘She will not read that letter, will she?’

- e. *wacə-ṇar nahi nə ti te pətrə?* (TAG1)  
 f. *te pətr ti wacṇar nahi, ho nə?* (TAG2)

### 9.2.4 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions make a statement with opposite polarity. They employ the question words *kon/kay* ‘who/what’ with rising intonation.

- (12) *tu mə-la koṇ/kay səməj-t-es? tujha nokər?*  
 You me-DAT who/what think-IMPF-2FSG your servant  
 ‘Who do you think I am?’ ‘Your servant?’
- (13) *tu swəta-la koṇ/kay man-t-os? čmski-saheb?*  
 you-MSG self-DAT who/what consider-PRES-2MSG Chomsky-sir  
 ‘Who do you think you are? Mr. Chomsky?’

### 9.3 Open interrogatives

A universal feature of open interrogatives, i.e., question word questions is that they ask for a value of an unknown quantity such as *x*. Presuppositions of an open interrogative are encoded in the question word itself. Consider for example the question: Who left? The question is open ended. The answer may be Harry, Sally, Meena, Salim, an infinite set of entities. Abstracting away we get the answer: *x* left. The value of *x* being ... Harry, Sally ... Meena, Salim..... In a certain sense then *x* is a variable. Most interrogative words in this category encode some type of variable.

Open question words start with the letter *K*. They may be pronouns, such as *koṇ, kay*, ‘who, what’; adjectives, *koṇca/koṇta, kəsa* ‘which one’, ‘what kind’; or adverbials *kewha, kuṭhe, kədhi, kəšala, ka* ‘when’, ‘where’, ‘when’, ‘for what’, ‘why’. Pronouns inflect for case and at times show gender agreement. Adjectives agree with the nominal they qualify. Question words occupy the position of the original category encoded in them. They are often called in-situ questions since unlike question words in English they do not necessarily move to the first sentential position. However, these question words need not stay in-situ and may be optionally moved with certain constraints. For example the question word *ka* ‘why’ must be placed before the verb. All the constituents of a sentence may be questioned as noted below.

### 9.3.1 Questions in simple sentences

- (14) *rāwi-ni lili-la kal pātrā lihay-la sangit-l-ə.*  
 Ravi-ERG Lili-DAT yesterday letter write-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Ravi told Lili yesterday to write a letter.’
- a. *ko-ṇi lili-la kal pātrā lihay-la sangit-l-ə?* (SUB)  
 who-ERG Lili-DAT yesterday letter write-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Who told/asked Lili yesterday to write a letter?’
- b. *rāwi-ni koṇa-la kal pātrā lihay-la sangit-l-ə?* (IO)  
 Ravi-ERG who-DAT yesterday letter write-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Who did Ravi tell/ask to write a letter yesterday?’
- c. *rāwi-ni lili-la kal kay lihay-la sangit-l-ə?* (DO)  
 Ravi-ERG Lili-DAT yesterday what write-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘What did Ravi tell/ask Lili yesterday to write?’
- d. *rāwi-ni lili-la kēwhā pātrā lihay-la sangit-l-ə?* (TIME)  
 Ravi-ERG Lili-DAT when letter write-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘When did Ravi tell/ask Lili to write a letter?’
- e. *rāwi-ni lili-la kal kuṭhe yay-la sangit-l-ə?* (PLACE)  
 Ravi-ERG Lili-DAT yesterday where come-PP tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Where did Ravi tell/ask Lili yesterday to come?’
- f. *rāwi-ni lili-la yay-la ka sangit-l-ə?* (REASON)  
 Ravi-ERG Lili-DAT come-PP why/what-for tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Why did Ravi tell/ask Lili to come?’

A sentence may have multiple question words as in (15). These question words need not be in any particular order as is required in some languages.

- (15) *koṇi koṇa-la kēwha kay di-l-ə?*  
 who-ERG who-DAT when what give-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Who gave what to whom and when?’

### 9.4 The scope of question words

The scope of question words in subordinate clauses depends upon the category of the main verb. For example, verbs of knowledge, such as *thauk*, *mahit* do not allow embedded question words to extend their scope to the main clause. These verbs fail to produce what are known as direct questions as is the case in the English sentence ‘Who do you know that lives in the white house?’. In Marathi the scope of the question word is confined to the embedded clause only producing indirect questions as in ‘I know who lives in the white house.’ (See Wali 1988 for an insightful analysis.)



- (16) *babu-la he mahit ahe ki koṇi lili-la pətrə*  
 Babu-DAT this know Be-PRES COMP who Lili-DAT letter  
*di-l-ə.*  
 give-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Babu knows who gave the letter to Lili.’
- \*tu-la koṇ mahit ahe ki lili-la pətrə di-l-ə?*  
 you-DAT who know Be-PRES COMP Lili-DAT letter give-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Who do you know that gave the letter to Lili?’

Direct questions are obtained only with perception verbs with the condition that the subordinate clause precede the main clause (17a). If the main clause precedes the subordinate clause as in (17b), one gets an unacceptable sentence. The question word stays in the subordinate clause.

- (17) a. *lili-la koṇi pətrə di-l-ə əsə tu-la waṭ-t-ə?*  
 Lili-DAT who letter give-PERF-NSG that you-DAT believe-IMP-NSG  
 ‘Who do you believe gave the letter to Lili?’
- b. *\*tu-la əsə waṭtə ki lili-la koṇi pətrə di-l-ə?*

#### 9.4.1 Reduplicated question words

Reduplicated question words encode a distributive sense. For example, a question like (18a) is asking the hearer to list the number of places he has visited. His answer will correspond to the one in (18b). This is also exemplified in the pair (19a), (19b).

- (18) a. *tu kuṭhe kuṭhe ge-l-a hot-as?*  
 You where where go-PERF-2MSG be-PAST-2MSG  
 ‘Which places did you visit?’
- b. *mi mumbai-la, gowya-la aṇi puṇy-la ge-l-o*  
 I-M Mumbai-PP Goa-PP and Pune-PP go-PERF-1MSG  
*ho-t-o.*  
 be-PAST-1MSG  
 ‘I visited Mumbai, Goa and Pune.’
- (19) a. *tu tithe koṇ-a koṇ-a-la bheṭ-l-as?*  
 You there who-OBL who-OBL-DAT meet-PERF-2MSG  
 ‘Who did you meet there?’
- b. *mi tithe lili-la, mini-la aṇi rəwi-la bheṭ-l-o.*  
 I-M there Lili-DAT Mini-DAT and Ravi-DAT meet-PERF-1MSG  
 ‘I met Lili, Mini and Ravi there.’

### 9.4.2 Multiple question words

A sentence can have multiple question words. Interestingly, these words need not adhere to any particular sequence as shown below.

- (20) a. *koṇa-la kewha koṇi kay di-l-ə?*  
 Who-DAT when who what give-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Who gave what to whom and when?’  
 b. *kewha koṇi koṇa-la kay di-l-ə?* (Variation)  
 When who who-DAT what give-PERF-NSG

### 9.4.3 Question words in a non-finite clause

Question words in a nonfinite clause have scope over the entire sentence generating direct questions only.

- (21) *kuṭhe ja-ṇə tu-la pasant nahi?*  
 Where go-INF you-DAT like not  
 ‘Which is the place you don’t like to go?’

Question words in relative and coordinate structures generate ungrammatical sequences.

## Notes

- (a) In formal situations *ka* is at times replaced with *kay*. The latter is homophonous with the open interrogative *kay* ‘what’ and also with the exclamatory particle *kay* as in *tu kay amerikela jaṇar ahes?* (you, so, America-PP going be) ‘So, you are going to America?’  
 (b) *ka* is homophonous with the open interrogative *ka* ‘why’. However, they do not conflict since the latter is always placed before the verb.
- Damle ([1911] 1970) has named leading questions as *ka-ku* ‘hesitation’ questions. Though this is a misnomer, his interpretation of these questions is accurate.

## CHAPTER 10

# Negation

### 10.0 Introduction

Negation pervades ontology, logic, metaphysics, mathematics, science, psychology, and several other disciplines. Most of all it is a basic element of human thought and a universal feature of all languages. The addition of a negative element creates a contrast with positive statements. Negating a statement is like creating an opposite polarity in any domain. Of course, not all of our statements are black and white and there are words that add shades in between, as is the case with quantifiers such as all, some, many, few, none and many other series like that. Interestingly negation interacts with all of them creating several shades of meaning. Negation in a language thus becomes a vast topic. Here we will confine ourselves to pertinent grammatical negative structures in Marathi.

### 10.1 Previous accounts

Traditional accounts of negative structures are narrowly confined and hardly analytic. For example, these accounts do not mention the analysis of negating various constituents, quantifiers, negation dependent idioms, and many other aspects of negation treated extensively in modern grammatical theories. Some of these aspects have been mentioned in Pandharipande (1997) but they are still sketchy and minimal. Here we attempt to provide a more detailed account of Marathi negation relevant for current linguistic theories.

#### 10.1.1 Preliminaries

Negation is expressed at both sentential and constituent level. Sentential negation is expressed by a variety of negative verbs, some of which act as auxiliaries. These match their affirmative counterparts in tense and mood<sup>1</sup> and inflect for gender, number and person. Constituent negation uses the particle *nā*,<sup>2</sup> or strategically

places the basic negative marker within the sentence itself. The two strategies at times overlap but they may be mutually exclusive in certain contexts. The particle *nā* also functions as a prefix to negate a noun, verb or a participle and as a suffix to derive tag questions (see Questions).<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that Marathi has no absolute negative words such as English ‘no one’, ‘nobody’, ‘no-where’. These notions are expressed by combining negative verbs with existential quantifiers and followed by special particles as noted below.

### 10.1.2 Scope vs. focus

Scope is a significant concept in syntax. It is particularly so in dealing with negation and question formation. The negation of a sentence in the simplest case states that the positive sentence is false, as is the case with ‘John is silly’ vs. ‘John is not silly’. Here the negation has scope over the entire positive sentence ‘It is not the case that John is silly.’ However, mere existence of a negative in a sentence does not always license it to have scope over the entire sentence. Its scope can vary and is conditioned by both semantics and syntax, as is the case with ‘Many boys didn’t come to school’. It implies ‘many boys didn’t come to school’ is true but at the same time, it is not false that ‘many boys came’. Both the statements can be true and the scope relations become intricate. We explain these intricacies wherever they arise.

The concept of focus differs from scope. Focus points to the information at the centre of communication, as is the case in ‘It was Bob who filmed the episode.’ Focus is indicated by various grammatical devices such as stress, intonation, emphatic particles, or position. Focus in negation is closely related to constituent negation. In constituent negation, the negative is focused or centered on a certain constituent only.

## 10.2 Sentential negation

Sentential negation differs in a finite and a nonfinite clause. In a finite clause, negative verbs or auxiliaries occupy the final position. In Yes-no interrogatives the negative verb precedes the question marker. In every case, the negative verb has scope over the entire sentence. A nonfinite clause in contrast uses the particle *nā* placed before the nonfinite verb. The scope of *nā* is limited as noted below in the appropriate sections.

## Simple sentence

- (1) *lili weḍi nahi.*  
 Lili mad not  
 ‘Lili is not mad.’
- (2) *lili wəkil hoṇar nahi.*  
 Lili lawyer become-FUT not  
 ‘Lili will not become a lawyer.’

## Closed interrogative

- (3) *lili weḍi nahi ka?*  
 Lili mad not Q  
 ‘Isn’t Lili mad?’

## Open interrogative

- (4) *lili ka wacə-t nahi?*  
 Lili why read-IMPF not  
 ‘Why doesn’t Lili read?’

## 10.2.1 Imperatives

The first person negative hortative *nəko* is placed after the main verb, which is in the imperative. It may be placed before the verb to enhance the permission or request.

- (5) *mi ja-u nəko? / mi nəko ja-u? / mi nəko ka ja-u?*  
 I go-IMP- not  
 ‘Shouldn’t I go?’ ‘Don’t you want me to go?’
- (6) *apəṇ tya kəwita mhəṇ-u ya nəko.*  
 we-INC those poems say-HORT not  
 ‘Let us not sing those poems.’

The second person negative imperative forms *nəko* (SG) / *nəka* (PL/polite) are placed after the imperative verb. They may precede the verb to indicate emphasis.

- (7) *(tu) ja-u nəko-s / nəko ja-u-s (tu).*  
 (you-SG) go-IMP not-2SG / not-2SG go-IMP-2SG you  
 ‘Don’t go / Please, don’t go.’

- (8) (*tumhi*) *ja-u nāka / tumhi nāka ja-u / nāka ja-u tumhi.*  
 You-PL go-IMP not / you-PL not go-IMP / not go-IMP you-PL  
 ‘Don’t go.’

The third person jussive expressed in the optative is used with the negative particle *nā* to express an ill wish. Notice however, if the ill wish itself is expressed in the positive, addition of a negative turns it into a complement as exemplified by the contrast in (11) and (12).

- (9) *to parikṣe-t pas nā ho-wo.*  
 he exam-PP pass not become-OPT  
 ‘May he not pass/may he fail in the examination.’
- (10) *ti-la mulā nā ho-wo-t.*  
 she-DAT children not have-OPT-3PL  
 ‘May she not have any children.’
- (11) *ti wanjh rah-o.*  
 she childless remain-IMP  
 ‘May she remain childless.’
- (12) *ti wanjh nā rah-o.*  
 she childless not remain-IMP  
 ‘May she not remain childless.’

### 10.2.2 Desiderative/subjunctive

To express a wish in the desiderative/subjunctive the negative particle *nā* or even *nahi* may be placed before the desiderative/subjunctive as in (13). However, it is more common and also elegant to use *nāye*, which is obligatorily placed in the final position as in (14).

- (13) *tine tithe nahi/nā ja-we/wā.*  
 she-ERG there not/not go-DESI-NSG  
 ‘She should not go there.’
- (14) *tine tithe ja-u nā-ye.*  
 she-ERG there go-IMP not-DESI  
 ‘She should not go there.’

### 10.2.3 Obligation

Two strategies are employed in negating the obligative *pahije* ‘must’. One places the negative *nā* before the main verb, or before *pahije* as in (15). The other uses

the suppletive form *kama nəye* obligatorily placed at the end of the sentence to indicate emphatic denial. The verb is inflected differently in the two strategies. In both the obligative has scope over the negative.

- (15) *ti-ne nə ge-l-ə pahije / ti-ne ge-l-ə nə pahije.*  
 she-ERG not go-PERF-NSG must / she-ERG go-PERF-NSG not must  
 ‘She must not go.’
- (16) *ti / tine ja-ta kama nə-ye.*  
 she / she-ERG go-IMP must not-DESI  
 ‘She must not go’ / ‘Under no circumstance should she go.’

#### 10.2.4 Necessity

The modal *jaruri ahe* expressing necessity follows the verbal infinitive and is negated by *nahi* placed at the end.

- (17) *ti-ne / ti-cə ja-ŋe jaruri(cə) nahi.*  
 she-ERG / she-POSS go-INF necessary not  
 ‘Her going is not necessary.’

#### 10.2.5 Possibility

Negation of the modal *šəkne* ‘can’ creates an interesting scope difference giving rise to different semantic nuances. When *nahi* is placed after *šəkne* it has scope over the entire sentence including the modal as in the example (18). In fact *nahi* has scope over the modal even when it is placed before the modal as in (19). Note that in (19) the modal shows no agreement with the subject. However, scope and agreement relations change if *nahi* is replaced by *nə* as in (20). In this case *nə* has scope over the verb only, giving rise to a different interpretation. Agreement of the subject with *šəkne* in (20) shows that the modal has a primary role, and is not under the scope of *nə*.

- (18) *mini ghəri ja-u šəkə-t nahi.*  
 Mini home go-INCP can-IMP not  
 ‘Mini can’t go home. It is not possible for Mini to go home.’
- (19) *mini nahi ghəri ja-u šəkə-t.*  
 Mini not home go-INCP can-IMP  
 ‘Mini can not go home’ / ‘It is not possible for Mini to go home.’

- (20) *mini ghāri nā ja-u śāk-t-e.*  
 Mini home not go-INCP can-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini can not go home if she so desires.’ (‘Mini can choose not to go home.’)

### 10.3 Quantifiers and negation

A quantifier may be existential, universal, approximate, or a numerical aggregate. Negation interacts with these in various ways. Position and form of the negators produce various semantic shades of meaning. The absence of absolute negative quantifiers has already been mentioned above. Their encoding will be elaborated in this section.

#### 10.3.1 Existential quantifiers

The presence of a negative in sentences with existential quantifiers generates either a sentential or an absolute negation. The difference is cued to the scope. In sentential negation the quantifier has scope over the negative. In contrast, in absolute negation the negative has scope over the quantifier. In Marathi, this difference is achieved by attaching certain particles to the quantifier itself. These particles orient the quantifiers thus creating the proper scope difference. This grammatical device differs from English, which contains absolute lexical negators such as ‘no one’, ‘nobody’, and ‘nothing’.

Marathi existential quantifiers are homophonous with open interrogative *K* words with the difference that they take exclusive existential meaning when suffixed with particles such as *tāri*, *ekā*, *ekā tāri*, *tāri ekā* as shown below for *koṇi* ‘someone’.

The forms of *koṇi* vary with animacy and number. (See Chapter 3.)

#### Singular:

Animate: *koṇi*, *koṇitāri*, *ekā koṇi*, *koṇi ekā*, *ekā koṇi tāri*, *koṇitāri ekā*.

Inanimate: *kahi*, *kahitāri*, *ekā kahitāri*, *kahitāri ekā*.

#### Plural:

Animate, inanimate: *kahi*.

When sentences with these existential quantifiers are negated it generates a simple sentential negation. The existential has scope over the negative.



- (21) *kal koṇi-təri ticya-kəḍe a-l-ə.*  
 yesterday someone-PTCL her-PP come-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Yesterday someone visited her.’
- (22) *kal koṇi-təri ticya-kəḍe a-l-ə nahi.*  
 yesterday someone-PTCL her-PP come-PERF-NSG not  
 ‘Someone did not visit her yesterday.’ (‘A certain some one did not visit her.’)
- (23) *ti-ne kahitəri wikə-t ghet-l-ə.*  
 she-ERG something buy-PTCP took-PERF-NSG  
 ‘She bought something or other.’
- (24) *ti-ne (ekə) kahitəri wikə-t ghet-l-ə nahi.*  
 she-ERG one something buy-PTCP took-PERF-NSG not  
 ‘She did not buy something.’ (‘There was a thing/some stuff she did not buy.’)

Interrogative *k* words generate the sense of ‘any’ when they are suffixed with *hi* as in (25). The negation of these quantifier forms generates the sense of absolute negation. The negative here has scope over the quantifier.

### Negative forms for ‘anyone’, ‘anything’

These forms are used in the context of negative or Yes-no questions.

- i. *koṇi, koṇihi* (anyone).
- ii. *kāhi-hi* ‘anything’.

Absolute negation:

- (25) *kal koṇi/koṇi-hi ghəri a-l-ə nahi.*  
 yesterday anyone-PTCL home come-PERF-NSG not  
 ‘Noone came home yesterday.’
- (26) *tine kahi/kahi-hi wikət ghet-l-ə nahi.*  
 she-ERG something-PTCL buy-PTCP take-PERF-NSG not  
 ‘She did not buy anything.’
- (27) *kal kahi/kahi-hi jha-l-ə nahi.*  
 yesterday some-thing-PTCL happen-PAST-NSG not  
 ‘Nothing happened yesterday.’

### Interrogative context

- (28) *kal koṇi-hi a-l-ə ho-t-ə ka?*  
 yesterday anyone-PTCL come-PAST-NSG be-PAST-NSG Q  
 ‘Did anyone come yesterday?’

- (29) *kal kahi/kahi-hi jha-l-ə ka?*  
 yesterday some-thing-PTCL happen-PERF-MSG Q  
 'Did anything happen yesterday.'

Use of numeral *ek* 'a/one' as existential:

- (30) *kal ek-jəṇə a-l-a ho-t-a.*  
 yesterday one-PART come-PERF-MSG be-PAST-MSG  
 'Yesterday someone had come.'
- (31) *kal ek-hi mulga a-l-a nahi.*  
 yesterday one-PART boy come-PERF-MSG not  
 'Yesterday not a single boy showed up / no boy showed up.'
- (32) *kal ek-təri mulga a-l-a ka?*  
 yesterday one-PART boy come-PERF-MSG Q  
 'Did even a single boy show up yesterday?'

### 10.3.2 Universal quantifier

Negation of a universal quantifier creates an interesting scope ambiguity. In one interpretation, the quantifier appears to have scope over the negation. In another interpretation, the negation has scope over the quantifier. Interestingly it is this second interpretation, which is stronger and predominant. The first interpretation is very weak and not easily accessible. It becomes more amenable if the quantifier is stressed.

Consider (33):

- (33) *səḡlya saswa a-l-ya nahi-t.*  
 all mothers-in-law come-PERF-3PL not-3PL  
 'All mothers-in-law did not come.'  
 [(i) Not all the mothers-in-law came; (ii) No mother-in-law came.]
- (34) *səḡlya-c saswa a-l-ya nahi-t.*  
 all-EMPH mothers-in-law come-PERF-3PL not-3PL  
 'All of the mothers-in-law did not come.' (No mother-in-law came.)
- (35) *ekə-hi saswa a-l-i nahi.*  
 One-even mother-in-law come-PERF-FSG not  
 'Not even one mother-in-law came.'

Example (33) is ambiguous. It has two interpretations, which may be explained as follows. Suppose there are five mothers-in-law. In the strong interpretation (33) states that may be some mothers-in-law came and some did not as noted in (i)

in the square bracket. We can then say that the negation has the scope over the quantifier ‘all’ i.e. ‘not all the mothers-in-law came’. However the example (33) has another interpretation as in (ii) in the square bracket though it is very weak. It states that all of the mothers-in-law did not come i.e., no mother-in-law showed up at the party. In this case we can say that the quantifier ‘all’ has scope over the negation. It is a case of sentence negation.

The same sense is expressed by the preferred expression (34). This scenario holds in English also. (See Huddleston and Pullum 2002.)<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the change in the order of quantifier and negation in (33) does not change the scope relations.

### 10.3.3 Aggregates

Aggregates generate total negation in a negative context. It is interesting to note that they are formed by means of the particle *hi*. (See Chapter 3.)

- (36) *ti donhi mulə a-l-i nahi-t.*  
 those both-PTCL boys come-PERF-3PL not-3PL  
 ‘Both boys failed to come.’

### 10.3.4 Approximate quantifiers

Approximates form a very large group. A few of them require a positive context as exemplified in (37). A few others require a negative context as in (38). Most of them have no such orientation. These allow sentential or constituent negation. Certain emphatic particles such as *cə*, *sə*, *ša*, *ši* are added to these quantifiers to enhance the semantic nuance. The particle *hi* is attached in the negative context only.

Positive polarization:

- (37) *to kwəçitə-cə kha-t-o. / \*khat nahi.*  
 he rarely-PTCL eat-IMP-3SG / \*eat not  
 ‘He rarely eats.’

Negative polarization:

- (38) *to thoḍ-suddha həsə-t nahi. / \*həsəto.*  
 he little-even laugh-IMP not / laugh-PRES-3SG  
 ‘He doesn’t laugh even a little.’

No polarization:

- (39) *khup lok a-l-e nahi-t.*  
 Many people come-PERF-MPL not-3PL  
 ‘Many people failed to come.’

### 10.3.5 Negation dependent idioms

Certain idioms such as *kəpərdikəhi deṇe* ‘to pay a red cent’, *təsubhəṛəhi sarkəṇe* ‘to budge an inch’, *kaḍihi hələwəṇe* ‘to lift a finger’, obligatorily require a negative context. Notice the presence of the particle *hi* in the idiom. Both (40) and (41) are unacceptable without the negative.

- (40) *tine məla kəpərdikə-hi dil-i nahi.*  
 she-ERG me-DAT cent-even-F give-PERF-FSG not  
 ‘She did not give me even a farthing.’
- (41) *to təsubhəṛəhi sark-l-a nahi.*  
 he an inch-even move-PERF-MSG not  
 ‘He did not move even an inch.’

### 10.4 Complex sentences

In a finite clause, a negative may be placed in the main as well as the embedded clause, individually or simultaneously. In the context of verbs of ‘knowledge’ the scope of the negative is limited to the clause in which it is placed as is evident in (42), (43). In contrast, with perception verbs the negative in the main or the embedded clause, may have scope over the entire complex clause. The same holds true for a small clause. In all these cases the scope is not affected by the position of the clause.

- (42) *lili ghəri ge-l-i he tya-la mahit nahi.* (neg. in main)  
 Lili-F home go-PERF-FSG COMP he-DAT know not-PRES  
 ‘He does not know that Lili went home.’  
*tyala he mahit nahi ki lili ghəri geli.* (Variation)
- (43) *lili ghəri ge-l-i nahi he tya-la mahit ahe.*  
 Lili home go-PERF-FSG not COMP he-DAT know Be-PRES  
 ‘He knows that Lili did not go home.’  
*tyala he mahit ahe ki lili ghəri geli nahi.* (Variation)

## Perception verbs:

- (44) *lili uncə ahe əsə tya-la waʔ-ət nahi.*  
 Lili tall Be-PRES COMP he-DAT think-PRES not  
 ‘He does not believe/think that Lili is tall.’

- (45) *lili uncə nahi əsə tya-la waʔ-tə.*  
 Lili tall not COMP he-DAT think-PRES  
 ‘He believes/thinks that Lili is not tall.’

All variations in (44), (45) are ambiguous: ‘He doesn’t think Lili is tall / He thinks Lili is not tall.’

## Small clause:

- (46) *to lili-la sundər manət nahi.*  
 He Lili-DAT beautiful consider not  
 ‘He thinks Lili is not beautiful.’ = He doesn’t think Lili is beautiful.

## Nonfinite clauses

Nonfinite infinitive or participial clauses utilize the negative *nə* which is placed before the nonfinite verb. If the clause contains the auxiliary *əsə*, this fuses with *nə* as in (50). *nə* is replaced by *nəko* ‘not want’ to negate *pahije* ‘want’ (see example (15)).

- (47) *lili-cə mini-barobər nə ja-nə yogyə ho-t-ə.*  
 Lili-POSS Mini-PP not go-INF proper be-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili’s not going with Mini was proper.’  
 (It was proper for Lili not to go with Mini.)
- (48) *lili ghəri nə ge-l-ya-ne gondhəl jha-l-a.*  
 Lili home not go-PERF-OBL-PP confusion-MSG become-PERF-MSG  
 ‘Lili’s not going home created a confusion.’
- (49) *lili-ni vikət nə ghet-lel-i gaði aj wıkl-i ge-l-i.*  
 Lili-ERG buy not take-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-FSG car-F today sell-FSG go-PERF-FSG  
 ‘The car which Lili did not buy was sold today.’
- (50) *lili-jəwəl nəs-lel-ə pustək mini-ne ti-la di-l-ə.*  
 Lili-PP not-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-NSG book-NSG Mini-ERG her-DAT give-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Mini gave Lili the book which she (Lili) did not have.’
- (51) *ti-la nəko əs-lel-i pustəkə lili mə-la de-t-e.*  
 she-DAT not-want be-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-NPL book-NPL Lili-F me-DAT give-IMP-FSG  
 ‘Lili gives me her unwanted books.’

## 10.5 Coordinates

For negation in coordinates see Chapter 8.

## 10.6 Constituent negation

Negation of a constituent – i.e., individual lexical items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs – is indicted by intonation/stress, and by strategically placing the appropriate negative verb – ‘*nahi*’, ‘*nəko*’, ‘*nəvhe*’ – ‘not, not want, is not’ next to the constituent. Constituent negation in a certain sense implies that the constituent in question is being focused on. The constituent is stressed to focus or draw the attention. The method is valid for any constituent. Addition of a parallel contrastive pair as in (53), (54) clarifies the focused element. In the following examples the lexical items in bold indicate the focus.

- (52) *mini kal ratri lili-kəḍe nahi ge-l-i.*  
 Mini yesterday night Lili-PP not go-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini didn’t go to Lili last night.’ (It wasn’t Lili who Mini went to last night.)
- (53) *mini nahi kal ratri lili-kəḍe ge-l-i.*  
 Mini not yesterday night Lili-PP go-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘Mini didn’t go to Lili last night.’ (It wasn’t Mini who went to Lili last night.)
- (54) *mini nahi, babu lili-kəḍe ge-l-a.*  
 Mini not, Babu Lili-PP go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘It was Babu, not Mini who went to Lili.’
- (55) *hi america nəvhe, he hindustan ahe.*  
 this America not this India Be-PRES  
 ‘This is not America, this is India.’
- (56) *mə-la tu nəko, to həw-a.*  
 I-DAT you want-not, he want-MSG  
 ‘I don’t want you, I want him.’

## 10.7 *Nahi* vs. *na*

Finally, though *na/nə* appears to substitute for *nahi* in many contexts there is a difference as shown below. Note that modals employ both *nahi* and *na/nə* as constituent negators.

	<i>nahi</i>	<i>nə</i>
Negative response to a question	Yes	*
Sentential negation	Yes	Rarely
Constituent negation	Yes	Yes
Tag question	Yes	Yes
Nonfinite negation	*	Yes
Alternative conjunction	*	Yes

## Notes

1. Morphologically these fall into the three groups shown below. In Group A *nə* forms a synthetic complex with its positive member as in *ahe* 'is' / *nahi* 'is not'. In B there is no such fusion. Modal *pahije* 'want' negates as *kama nəye*, an independent lexical item with no relation to any of the negatives. It is like an odd ball in the neg series. In C the negative *nəvhe* has no positive counterpart. Note that the forms *nahi*, *nəko*, *nəvhət-*, are used both as main verbs and as auxiliaries, while the forms *nəye*, *kama nəye* / *kamas nəye* (dialectal variation), *upyogi nahi* 'of no use, will not do' are used only as auxiliaries. The unmarked position of the negative elements is at the end of the sentence. They inflect for gender, number and person as the case may be.

Corresponding positive and negative verbs

A	B	C
<i>ahe/nahi</i> 'is/no, is not'	V-stem/ <i>nəko</i> (imperative)	*/ <i>nəvhe</i> (negation of identity)
<i>hota/nəvhəta</i> 'was/was not'	<i>həwe/nəko</i> 'want/not want'	
<i>jhalə/jhalə nahi</i> 'became/did not become'	<i>pahije/nəko</i> 'want/not want'	
<i>əsto/nəsto</i> 'habitual'	<i>pahije/nəko</i> ; <i>kama nəye</i> ; <i>kamas nəye</i> ; <i>upyogi nahi</i> 'must/must not'	
<i>asel/nəsel</i> 'may/may not'	V-stem/ <i>nəye</i> 'should/should not'	
<i>nahi</i> : Main verb	Auxiliary	
(i) <i>ti ghəri nahi.</i> she home not 'She is not home.'	<i>ti ghəri a-l-i nahi.</i> she home come-PERF-FSG not 'She did not come home.'	

2. The negative particle *nə* primarily negates a constituent, but is also used in preverbal position at times to indicate sentential negation (Damle [1911] 1970).

Verb	Particle
(i) <i>to ge-l-a nahi tər?</i> he go-PERF-MSG not if 'What if he does not go?'	<i>to nə ge-l-a tər?</i> he not go-PERF-MSG if
(ii) <i>tya-ne ja-u nəye.</i> he-ERG go not-SBJ 'He should not go.'	<i>tya-ne nə jawe.</i> he-ERG not go-SBJ

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (iii) <i>to yeta kama naye.</i><br>he come must not<br>'He must not come.' | <i>to a-l-a                      na pahije.</i><br>he come-PERF-MSG not must |
|--|--|

3. There is another suffix *na* which is employed to negate the habitual verb to generate a sense of refusal such as 'won't + V'.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (i) <i>to jai-na.</i><br>he go-HAB-not<br>'He won't go.' | <i>te bāse-na-t.</i><br>they sit-HAB-not-3PL<br>'They won't sit.' |
|--|---|

Addition of the suffix *cə* either to the verb '*to jai-cə-na*' or the negative '*to jai-na-cə*' intensify the action (He won't go at all).

4. Equivalence between wide scope universal and narrow scope existential quantification is a well known fact in Logic. For example both (i) and (ii) below are semantically equivalent.

- (i) All of them didn't have a clue what he meant.
- (ii) None of them had a clue what he meant.  
(Not one of them had a clue).

In (i) the universal quantifier has a scope over the negative. All of them had the negative property. They all were devoid of a clue. In (ii) none expresses the negation of a existential quantifier. Note however, although (i) and (ii) are equivalent, (ii) is preferred over (i). Same is true in Marathi.



## Lexical anaphors and pronouns<sup>1</sup>

### 11.0 A cross language perspective

Description of anaphors and pronouns in traditional grammars is mostly confined to a list of various reflexives, reciprocals, personal and other types of pronouns such as demonstratives, interrogatives etc. These grammars describe their declensions, and a brief description if any. There is no information about their syntactic distribution, which is the essence of anaphora. It is the syntactic distribution that distinguishes various anaphors and pronouns within and across languages. It is well known that anaphors across languages do not have a uniform syntactic profile and as such it is important that the modern grammar of a language provide a detailed syntactic profile of its anaphors and pronouns. This is especially important since Marathi reflexives as well as pronouns present an interesting spectrum amongst the languages of the world and in particular amongst Indic languages. For example, unlike other Indian languages, Marathi has two reflexives, namely *swatah* and *apəṇ* with different syntactic distribution. Reflexive *swatah* resembles reflexives in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, while *apəṇ* is akin to the reflexive *TAAN* in the Dravidian family. In fact, *apəṇ* has a unique distribution amongst the languages of the world. It resembles the Japanese reflexive *zibun* and also Dravidian *TAAN* to a certain extent but it also differs from both in several respects. (See Wali and Subbarao 1991 for details.) The chapter explains the intricate distribution of *swatah* and *apəṇ* along with personal pronouns. It also deals with reciprocals, and other forms of both reflexives and pronouns.

### 11.1 Reflexives

#### 11.1.1 *Swatah*

We consider *swatah* first.<sup>2</sup> It exhibits typical reflexive qualities. It is devoid of intrinsic reference. The antecedents<sup>3</sup> of *swatah* are always subjects, with certain interesting exceptions in dative and passive constructions noted in (4)–(6). *swatah*

follows its antecedent as in (1) and (2) but it may also be in a preceding position as in (3).

Subject antecedents:

Nominative and ergative subjects

- (1) *mini swatah-la pātrā lih-t-e.*  
Mini-F self-DAT letter write-IMPF-FSG  
'Mini writes a letter to herself.'
- (2) *mini-ni swatah-cya bhawa-la bolaw-l-ə.*  
Mini-ERG self-POSS brother-DAT invite-PERF-NSG  
'Mini invited her/self's brother.'
- (3) *swatah-cya bhawa-l-a mini-ni bolaw-l-ə.* (Variation on (2))

Dative subjects

Only possessive and PP forms of *swatah* are controlled by dative subjects.

- (4) *mini-la lili / \*swatah awḍ-t-e.*  
Mini-DAT Lili / self/self like-IMPF-FSG  
'Mini likes Lili/\*Mini likes herself.'
- (5) *mini-la swatah-či bahiṇ awḍ-t-e.*  
Mini-DAT self-POSS sister like-IMPF-3FSG  
'Mini likes her/self's sister.'

Passive subjects

In the regular passive *swatah* may refer to both the promoted subject i.e. *mini-la*, as well as the demoted agent *rāwi-kāḍun* as seen in (6).

- (6) *rāwi-kāḍun mini-la swatah-čya kholi-t ḍamb-l-ə*  
Ravi-by Mini-DAT self-POSS room-in dump-PERF-NSG  
*ja-t-ə.*  
PASS-IMPF-NSG  
'Mini is dumped by Ravi in her/his room.'

Small clause

- (7) *mini swatah-la libral sāmāj-t-e.*  
Mini-F self-DAT liberal consider-IMPF-FSG  
'Mini considers herself a liberal.'

### Non-finite clause

In the non-finite clause *swatah* ambiguously refers to both the subject and the object of the matrix clause.

- (8) *mini-ni<sub>i</sub> rāwi-la<sub>j</sub> swatah-ca<sub>ij</sub> pustāk wac-u di-l-ə.*  
 Mini-ERG Ravi-DAT self-POSS book-NSG read-INCP allow-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Mini allowed Ravi to read her/his book.’

### Finite clause with perception verbs

It has been noted above that *swatah* and its antecedent must occur in the same clause. An exception arises with perception verbs. These allow *swatah* in the embedded subject position as in (9a). *swatah* may precede the main subject as in (9b) the preposed embedded clause.

- (9) a. *mini samaj-t-e ki swatah libral ahe.*  
 Mini think-IMPF-FSG COMP self liberal Be-PRES  
 ‘Mini<sub>i</sub> thinks that self<sub>i</sub> is liberal.’

(Variation on (9a))

- (9) b. *swatah libral ahe əsə mini samaj-t-e.*  
 self/self liberal Be-PRES so Mini thinks.

#### 11.1.2 *Apəṇ*

Traditional grammarians of Marathi consider *swatah* as a true reflexive but hesitate to allocate reflexive status to *apəṇ* because of its dual role as a pronoun and a reflexive. They classified it as a special pronoun. However, currently it is being argued that pronominal *apəṇ* is distinct from the reflexive *apəṇ*. The two have different syntactic functions (Wali 2000). We consider reflexive *apəṇ* first and describe pronominal *apəṇ* later in 4.1 below.

Reflexive *apəṇ* is unique amongst Indic languages as noted above. Its syntactic distribution differs from both *swatah* and the regular pronouns. It lies between a normal reflexive and a pronoun. It is what we may call a syntactically bound pronoun or a pronominal anaphor. Its properties are described below.

Reflexive *apəṇ* is devoid of intrinsic reference and requires subject antecedents as is the case with *swatah*, the bona fide reflexive. However the resemblance ends there. In a simple sentence, unlike *swatah*, *apəṇ* is unacceptable as both DO and IO<sup>4</sup> (compare example (10) with (1) above). Interestingly, it is freely allowed as a possessive or PP phrase, a property akin to pronouns. In Marathi in this context,

both *swatah* and *apən* are preferred over a personal pronoun (compare example (12) with (13)). The pronoun in (13) may refer to ‘Mini’ or an outside agency in contrast to *apən* in (12), which unambiguously refers to ‘Mini’. Note that *apən* may precede its antecedent as in (14) showing resemblance with *swatah* and not with regular pronoun. (Compare examples (14a) and (14b)). The regular pronoun fails to refer to Mini when they are in a preceding position.

- (10) *mini \*aplya-la pətrə lih-t-e.*  
Mini-F self-DAT letter write-IMPF-FSG  
‘Mini writes a letter to herself.’
- (11) *mini-la ap-la bhau awḍ-t-o.*  
Mini-DAT self-POSS brother like-IMPF-3MSG  
‘Mini likes her brother.’
- (12) *mini-ni ap-lyā bhawa-la bolaw-l-ə.*  
Mini-ERG self-POSS brother-DAT invite-PERF-NSG  
‘Mini<sub>i</sub> invited self’s<sub>i</sub> brother.’
- (13) *mini-ni ti-cyā bhawa-la bolaw-l-ə.*  
Mini-ERG her-POSS brother-DAT invite-PERF-NSG  
‘Mini<sub>i</sub> invited her brother.’
- (14) a. *aplya bhawa-la mini-ni bolaw-l-ə.* (Variation on (12))  
b. *\*ticyā bhawa-la mini-ni bolaw-l-ə.* (Variation on (13))

*Apən* has the same distribution as *swatah* also in non-finite clauses, as in (15). A crucial difference between *apən*, *swatah* and personal pronouns however shows up in the finite embedded clause with main clause subject antecedents. These disallow *swatah*, and prefer *apən* over personal pronouns as in (16). The latter are always ambiguous between the main subject and an outside agency. Their reference to the subject in this context is marginal at best. This is particularly so with quantifiers and interrogative subjects as in (18), (19). When the antecedent is a main clause non-subject i.e. DO or IO, a personal pronoun is the only available choice (see (35), (36) below).

- (15) *mini-ni<sub>i</sub> rəwi-la ap-lə pustək wac-u di-l-ə.*  
Mini-ERG Ravi-DAT self-POSS book-NSG read-PTCP allow-PERF-NSG  
‘Mini<sub>i</sub> allowed Ravi to read her book.’
- (16) *mini-la mahit ahe ki apən/\*ti hušar aho-t.*  
Mini-DAT know be COMP self/she smart Be-PRES-1PL<sup>5</sup>  
‘Mini knows that she is smart.’

- (17) *mini-la waṭ-t-ə ki rəwi-ni aṗya/ticya bhawa-la*  
 Mini-DAT believe-IMPf-NSG COMP Ravi-ERG self's/her brother-DAT  
*nokri dya-wi.*  
 job give-SUBJ  
 'Mini believes that Ravi should give the job to her/\*his brother.'

#### Quantifier and interrogative antecedents

- (18) *kāhi muli-nna waṭ-t-ə ki aṗəṇ/?tya śrīmantə*  
 Some girl-DAT-PL think-IMPf-NSG COMP self/they rich  
*aho-t/ahe-t.*  
 Be-PRES-1PL/Be-PRES-3PL  
 'Some girls think that they are rich.'
- (19) *koṇa-la əsə waṭ-t-ə ki aṗəṇ/\*te librəl aho-t/ahe-t?*  
 who-DAT so think-IMPf-NSG COMP self/they liberal Be-PRES-1PL/3PL  
 'Who thinks that they are liberal?'

In sum, both *swətah* and *aṗəṇ* are devoid of intrinsic reference and may precede or follow their respective antecedents. In simple and non-finite sentences, *swətah* is more prevalent. *aṗəṇ* may not function as DO or IO. In the finite embedded clause, *aṗəṇ* occurs in all positions. It is the preferred choice over both *swətah* and a personal pronoun. Clearly, *aṗəṇ* has both reflexive and pronominal properties. We categorize it as a syntactically bound pronoun. (See Wali 2000 for theoretical implications of this distribution, particularly for the status of *aṗəṇ* as a reflexive or a pronoun.)

#### 11.1.3 Emphatic reflexives

The basic emphatic reflexive is *swətah*, with alternatives such as *khuddə*, *khuddə swətah*, *jatine*, *swətah jatine*, *prəatyəkshə*, *sakṣat*, all glossed as 'personally'. Emphatics are unmarked for the case of their co-referent except *swətah* when its co-referent is in the dative case as in (20b). The emphatic may precede the co-referent.

- (20) a. *mini swətah a-l-i.*  
 Mini self come-PERF-FSG  
 'Mini personally came.'
- b. *mini-la khuddə-swətah-la mulə awḍ-ət nahi-t.*  
 mini-DAT self-DAT children like-IMPf not-IMPf-PL  
 'Mini personally does not like children.'

#### 11.1.4 Voluntary reflexives

Voluntary reflexives such as *swātah hovun*, *apən hovun*, *aplya apən*, and *apoap* ‘by itself’ are employed for events happening without external cause. The first form requires an animate antecedent. The antecedents of the rest may be animate or inanimate.

- (21) a. *mina apən howun / swātah howun a-l-i.*  
 Mina self-by / self by come-PERF-FSG  
 ‘Mina came on her own accord.’  
 b. *diwa ap-lya apən khali pəḍ-l-a.*  
 lamp-M self-by down fall-PERF-MSG  
 ‘The lamp fell down by itself.’

#### 11.1.5 Reflexives in pragmatic contexts

The following examples collected from books and journals indicate some pragmatic contexts in which *swātah* has been freely used. Conditions that govern this use are not clear at present.

- (22) *swātah<sub>i</sub> aibapa wegḷi əslyəṇə mhəṇə, paristhitiči jaṇiw*  
 self parents without being say circumstances knowledge  
*phar ləhanpəṇi jhalyanə mhəṇə, indu<sub>i</sub> muḷatəc premal*  
 very young became say Indu nature-PP affectionate  
*ho-t-i.*  
 be-PAST-FSG  
 ‘Because she/self<sub>i</sub> was without parents, and had the realization of the circumstances at a very young age, Indu was very affectionate by nature.’
- (23) *tyan-la čar prakar khay-la həwe əsa-yce pən tya-saṭhi swātah*  
 he-DAT four kinds eat-PP need be-PRED but it-for self  
*kahi kər-el, naw nəko.*  
 something do-FUT ask not  
 ‘He loved to eat all sorts of goodies but don’t ask if he/self will ever help him-self/look after himself.’
- (24) *phəktə swātah-purtə / ap-lya-purtə pəha-wə.*  
 only self about / self about worry-DESI  
 ‘One should worry about oneself only.’

## 11.2 Reciprocals

There are two types of reciprocals. One is used to express mutual reciprocity, the other expresses what we will call reflexive reciprocity. The latter is special to Marathi. Its use indicates that the action is directed to the participants themselves. The contrast parallels the difference between ‘they beat each other’ vs. ‘they beat themselves’.

### 11.2.1 Mutual reciprocity

The principal mutual reciprocals are *ekamek*, *ekadusra* ‘each other’. The Sanskrit based forms *pāraspār* and *ananyonyā* are mostly used in formal situations. Antecedents of mutual reciprocals may be both subjects and objects and must be in the same simple or non-finite sentence.

- (25) *tya muli ekamek a- wiruddhā cuglyā sang-t-at.*  
 those girls each-other- against complain tell-IMPF-FPL  
 ‘Those girls complain about each other.’
- (26) *tya mul i-nni tyā mul a-nna ekā meka- baddal*  
 those girls-OBL-ERG those boys-OBL-DAT each other-OBL about  
*sāṅgit-l-ə.*  
 tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Those girls told those boys about each other.’

Note that in (26) each other refers to both the subject i.e., girls, and the object i.e., boys. With respect to girls it states that each girl told those boys about the other girl. With respect to boys it states that the girls told each boy about the other boy.

### 11.2.2 Reflexive reciprocity

The reflexive-reciprocal *ap-apāṇ* is derived from the reflexive *apāṇ*. It inflects only as a possessive or a postpositional phrase. Its antecedent requirements are similar to the mutual reciprocal. It allows both subject and object antecedents as long as they are in a simple or a non-finite sentence.

- (27) *tya mul i-nna ap-āple mitrā awḍ-t-at.*  
 those girls-OBL-DAT their-own friends like-IMPF-PL  
 ‘Those girls like their own friends.’  
 (i.e., Each girl likes her own friend.)

- (28) *rāwi-ni tya mul i-nna ap-apli pustāk-ə di-l-it.*  
 Ravi-ERG those girls-OBL-DAT their-own book-NPL give-PERF-3NPL  
 ‘Ravi gave those girls their own books.’  
 (i.e., Ravi gave each girl her own book.)
- (29) *rāwi-ni tya-nna ap-apsat bhaṇḍ-tana pahy-l-ə.*  
 Ravi-ERG them-PL amongst quarrel-PTCP see-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Ravi saw them quarreling amongst themselves.’

Note: Currently there is a tendency to replace *ap-apən* with the possessive pronominal duplicate *tyan-ca-tyan-ca* ‘their own’ and its forms.

### 11.3 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish three persons and two numbers. A gender distinction exists only in the third person. The second and third person plural forms are often used as honorifics. Personal pronouns are often dropped in a discourse context. First and second person pronouns act as logophors<sup>6</sup> in subordinate clauses. In addition as mentioned above, there is a special pronoun *apən*. Its functions are noted immediately below.

#### 11.3.1 Special pronoun *apən*

The special personal pronoun *apən* functions in various capacities such as (i) a first person singular to express the sense of ‘as for myself’ as in (30a); (ii) a first plural inclusive as in (30b); (iii) an honorific second person as in (30c); (iv) a generic pronoun as in (30d), (v) an emphatic as in (30e); and as an expletive as in (30f).<sup>7</sup>

- (30) a. *apən buwa<sup>8</sup> aj sinema-la ja-ṇar, tumhi kahihi*  
 I particle-M today movie-PP go-PROS you-PL whatever  
*mhən-a.*  
 say-PL  
 ‘As for myself, I am going to a movie today, whatever you say.’
- b. *əg mine, apən udyā khel-u bārā.*  
 hey Mini, we-INC tomorrow play-FUT ok  
 ‘Hey Mini, we (inclusive) will play tomorrow.’
- c. *mem-saheb, ap-la hukum kay ahe?*  
 Madam, your-HON order what Be-PRES  
 ‘Madam, what is your order?’



- d. *apən əmerike-la ugic ghabərə-t-o.*  
 we America-DAT unnecessary afraid-IMPF-3PL  
 ‘We are unnecessarily afraid of America.’
- e. *mi apla<sup>9</sup> tithun uṯh-l-o aṇi sərəḷ ghəri*  
 I-M just there-PP got up-PERF-1MSG and straight home  
*ge-l-o.*  
 go-PERF-1MSG  
 ‘I (myself) just got up and went straight home.’
- f. *mi apla<sup>9</sup> sərəḷ kəbul kar-t-o.*  
 I self straight agree do-IMPF-1MSG  
 ‘I agree straight away.’

### 11.3.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have intrinsic reference. In a simple or non-finite sentence they convey a free or a disjoint reference. For example in ‘John thinks he is smart’ the pronoun ‘he’ may refer to ‘John’ or some outside agency. It has a free reference. In contrast, in a sentence like ‘John laughed at him’ the pronoun ‘him’ may not refer to ‘John’. It refers to some outside agent only. The reference of the pronoun is disjoint. A disjoint reference indicates that a pronoun may not be bound to its antecedent in a simple sentence.<sup>10</sup> Personal pronouns are freely acceptable in finite embedded clauses as in (32)–(33) unless the main subject is a quantifier, or an interrogative. These require *apən* as shown in (18) and (19). A personal pronoun in this context conveys a disjoint reference.

- (31) *lili-la ṯhauk ahe ki ti ajari ahe.*  
 Lili-DAT know Be-PRES COMP she sick Be-PRES  
 ‘Lili knows that she is sick.’
- (32) *lili-la wəṭṭə ki ti ajari ahe.*  
 Lili-DAT thinks COMP she sick Be-PRES  
 ‘Lili thinks that she (Lili) is sick.’

Directionality is crucial to personal pronouns. Unlike *swətah* and *apən* they fail to co-refer when they precede their antecedents as in (33). A few finite adjunct clauses marginally allow pronouns to precede as in (34). Some examples follow.

- (33) *ti<sub>i</sub> libərəl ahe əsə lili<sub>i</sub> səməj-t-e.*  
 she liberal Be-PRES so Lil-F<sub>i</sub> think-IMPF-FSG  
 ‘She<sub>i</sub> is liberal so Lili<sub>i</sub> thinks.’

- (34) *jewha ti<sub>i</sub> ghāri ye-t-e tewha lili čāha pit-e.*  
 when she home come-IMPF-3FSG then Lili tea drink-3FSG  
 ‘When she<sub>i</sub> comes home Lili<sub>i</sub> drinks tea.’

Personal pronouns with non-subject quantifiers and interrogative antecedents are freely acceptable. (Compare (35), (36) with (18), (19)).

- (35) *lili-ni sarwa-nna saṅgit-l-ə ki te libṛal ahet.*  
 Lili-ERG everybody-OBL-DAT tell-PERF-NSG COMP they liberal  
 Be-PRES-3PL  
 ‘Lili told everybody that they are liberal.’
- (36) *lili-ni koṇa-la saṅgit-l-ə ki to libṛal ahe?*  
 Lili-ERG who-DAT tell-PERF-NSG COMP he liberal Be-PRES  
 ‘Who did Lili tell that he is liberal?’

### 11.3.3 Pronouns as logophors

In indirect or reported speech first and second-person pronouns are used as logophoric pronouns. Their function is to refer back to the subject of the main clause. Employment of a third person pronoun will fail to capture this explicit reference.

- (37) *lili<sub>i</sub> mhaṇa-l-i ki mi<sub>i</sub> tya-la uḍya bheṭ-en.*  
 Lili say-PERF-FSG COMP I he-DAT tomorrow visit-1SG  
 ‘Lili said that she(Lili) will meet him tomorrow.’
- (38) *mi tya-la<sub>i</sub> saṅgit-l-ə ki tu<sub>i</sub> ye.*  
 I he-DAT tell-PERF-NSG COMP you come-IMP  
 ‘I told him that you (he) should come.’

### 11.3.4 Pronouns in discourse

In discourse null/zero pronominal forms are commonly used for personal pronouns as in (39). Interestingly, the use of *swatah* and *apəṇ* is not precluded as seen in (40), (41). *apəṇ* generally indicates empathy.

#### Personal pronouns

- (39) *aj prəwas-at mi<sub>i</sub> kəši śant hot-e. aḷibat māna-wəṛ taṇ nahi.*  
 today travel-PP I how calm Be-FSG least mind-PP tension not  
*Ø bel dabli. uttər nahi. Ø<sub>i</sub> punha dabli. khiḍkitun*  
 Ø bell pressed Answer no. Ø again pressed. window-through

*dokaw-l-e. Ø haka mar-l-ya. ghər śantā.*  
 peep-PERF-FSG Ø call-FPL give-PERF-FPL house quiet  
 ‘How calm I was in my travels today. No tension on (my) mind. (I) pressed the bell. No answer. (I) pressed again. (I) peeped/peaked through the window. (I) called. The house was quiet.’ (A. Dhongde 1989)

### Reflexive pronouns

- (40) *ti-ne<sub>i</sub> at ja-un čaha ke-l-a. swatah<sub>i</sub> ghet-l-a.*  
 she-ERG inside go-PTCP tea-M make-PERF-MSG self take-PERF-MSG  
 ‘After going inside she<sub>i</sub> made tea and drank it.’
- (41) *ithə apəṇ ka bəṛə ubhe ah-ot? ap-lyā-la ata moklā*  
 here self why stand Be-PRES-1PL self-OBL-DAT now free  
*soḍle-l-ə ahe.*  
 leave-PERF-NSG Be-PRES  
 ‘Why am I (i.e., *apəṇ*) standing here? Now that I (i.e. *apəṇ*) have been freed.’  
 (Dharmadhikari 1960)

### Notes

1. This chapter is based on Wali (2000) which explains in great detail the syntactic distribution of Marathi pronouns and anaphors within Chomsky’s binding theory. It also shows that *apəṇ* is neither a reflexive nor a true pronoun and that it should be classified as a syntactically bound pronoun. Note that our term lexical anaphors refers to regular and long distance reflexives, as well as reciprocal pronouns. They require an obligatory antecedent in a sentence, which may be simple or complex. They thus contrast with personal pronouns. The antecedents of pronouns need not be in the same sentence.

2. We will not consider here the composite forms *apəṇ swatah* and *to/ti/te-swatah* ‘he/she/they-self’ which are often substituted for *swatah*. The former has the same distribution as *swatah*. The latter is only marginally acceptable. The stress on the pronominal element improves the reflexive reading. Since the pronominal element carries the person, number, and gender of its antecedent, these forms are able to co-refer to both the subject and the object.

- (i) *lili-ni rāwi-lā<sub>j</sub> ti-čya- / tyāčya-swatah-baddal səḡlā sāṅgi-l-ə.*  
 Lili-ERG Ravi-DAT her- / him-self about everything tell-PERF-NSG  
 ‘Lili told Ravi everything about herself/himself.’

3. Antecedent refers to a term with which a pronominal form is co-indexed. It may precede or follow the pronominal form.

4. So far we have found only two examples of *apəṇ* in a simple sentence. These are listed in Navalkar (1894). Notice that example (i) is a focus device and is acceptable even today. Example (ii) is a true counterexample to the claim made here. However, most of the people we talked to reject *apəṇ* in a simple sentence.

- (i) *tyane apṇa-sə-c phəsəw-l-e.*  
 he-ERG self-DAT-FOC cheat-PERF  
 'He cheated himself only.'
- (ii) *tine apṇa-s phəsəw-l-e ai-s nahi.*  
 she-ERG self-DAT deceived mother-DAT not  
 'She deceived herself, not her mother.'

5. Nominative forms of both *swətah* and *apəṇ* show verbal agreement. However, there is a difference. Agreement features of *swətah* are in accord with its antecedent while *apəṇ* always marks the verb for the first plural form suggesting its quasi-pronominal status.

6. For a definition and uses of the term logophor see Note 5 in Chapter 7 on Complex Sentences.

7. Damle ([1911]1970) gives a couple of examples of emphatic use of *apəṇ*. He notes that this use is rare.

- (i) *mi apəṇ buḍa-l-o wə tya-la-hi buḍ-əw-l-e.*  
 I self lost-PERF-MSG and he-DAT-EMPH lose-cause-PERF-NSG  
 'I myself lost and also made him lose (financially).'
- (ii) *to apəṇ səmāj-t-o pərəntu tya-s dusry-as səmjawun*  
 he self understand-IMPF-MSG but he-DAT other-DAT make-understand  
*sang-ta yet nahi.*  
 tell-IMPF come not  
 'He himself understands but he doesn't know how to explain it to others.'

8. The forms *buwa* (MSG) and *bai* (FSG) are address forms. However they are often used with first person *mi* 'or *apəṇ* to add emphasis such as 'as for myself'.

9. Note that first and second person pronouns are obligatorily retained in (30e) and (30f) since they are followed by the emphatic/expletive *apəṇ*.

10. It is this universal property that distinguishes a pronoun from a reflexive. Marathi pronouns and reflexives clearly fit this schema. However Marathi *apəṇ* is in-between a reflexive and a proper pronoun. Only the possessive and PP forms of *apəṇ* are found in a simple sentence. It also occurs in the embedded sentence where we expect a proper pronoun. It is a hybrid pronoun. It has been classified as a bound pronominal anaphor within Chomskian theory by Wali (2000).

## CHAPTER 12

# Sample texts

### 12.1 Written samples

The first sample text is in old Marathi and therefore it is transliterated. Other sample texts are transcribed.

#### 12.1.1 Shrawanbelgol Karnataka Inscription: A.D. 1116–1117

- (1) *shri chavundaraje kar-aviya-le shri gangaraje*  
Glorious Chavundaraja do-cause-PERF Glorious Gangaraja  
*suttale karaviyale*  
enclosure do-cause-PERF  
‘The glorious Chavundaraja caused (this image) to be made. The glorious Gangaraja caused the enclosure to be made.’
- (2) Dnyaneshwari (13th century)  
*majha marathi-ca bolu kawatik-e pari amrut-a-te-hi*  
my Marathi-POSS saying pleasure-PP but nectar-OBL-PP-EMPH  
*paija jink-e aisi aksare rasik-e mel-aw-in*  
bet win-ARCH PRES such letter-PL connoisseur-PL meet-CAUS-FUT  
‘I shall make my words meet the audience in such a way that the utterance of my Marathi would win the bet with pleasure (or playfully) even against nectar.’

#### 12.1.2 News

- (3) *unhaca catka matadar-an-madhil nirutsaha ani rajkiya*  
heat-POSS voter-OBL PL-in lack of enthusiasm and political  
*late-ca abhaw ya-mule rajya-a-til dusrya tapya-t*  
wave-POSS lack this-PP state-OBL-in second-OBLSG phase-OBL-PP  
25 *matadar-sangh-a-t sumare 50 te 55 takke matadan*  
25 voter-group-OBL-PP approximately 50 to 55 percent voting-NSG  
*jha-l-e*  
happen-PERF-3NSG

‘Scorching heat, lack of enthusiasm among the voters and lack of any political wave – these factors led to only about 50 to 55 percent voting in the 25 constituencies in the state.’

*ty-atā-hi      puṇe   jīlha   aṇi   khandeś-a-til      mātadar-saṅgh-a-t*  
that-PP-EMPH   Pune   district and Khandesh-OBL-PP   voter-group-OBL-PP  
*ničañki   mātadan-a-či      nond      jha-li*  
lowest   voting-OBL-POSS   record-FSG   V2-PERF-3FSG  
‘And on the top of it, Pune district and constituencies in Khandesh recorded the lowest turn-out.’

*pāścim-dakṣiṇ   maharāṣṭra   kokṇ   aṇi   mārathwad-ya-t      matrā*  
west-south   Maharashtra Konkan and Marathwada-OBL-PP   however  
*tulān-e-ne      mātadar-an-ca      caṅgla   prātisad*  
comparison-OBL-PP   voter-OBL-POSS   good   response-MSG  
*labh-l-a*  
get-PERF-3MSG  
‘However the response got in south-west Maharashtra, Konkan and Marathwada was comparatively good.’

*niwāḍṇuk   ayog-a-ne      di-lel-ya      prathēmik*  
election   commission-OBL-PP   give-2<sup>nd</sup>PERF-OBL   initial  
*mahiti-nusar      madha   mātadar-saṅgh-a-t      sārwadhiḥ   mhañje   64*  
information-PP   Madha   voter-group-OBL-PP   highest   that is   64  
*ṭakke   mātadan      jha-l-e*  
percent   voting-NSG   happen-PERF-3NSG  
‘According to the initial information given by the Election Commission Madha constituency recorded the highest percentage – 64 percent – of voting.’

*tya-paṭhopaṭh   kolhapur (62)   aṇi   biḍ (60)      yethe   mātadan*  
that-PP      Kolhapur (62) and Beed (60) here   voting-NSG  
*jha-l-e*  
happen-PERF-3NSG  
‘It was followed by Kolhapur (62 percent) and Beed (60 percent).’

*rajjy-at      pāhilya   ṭapp-ya-t      54   ṭakke      mātadan*  
state-OBL-PP   first   phase-OBL-PP   54 percent   voting-NSG  
*jha-l-e      hote*  
happen-PERF-3NSG   be-PAST  
‘In the first phase there had been 54 percent voting in the state.’

*duşrya tæpp-ya-t wəjəndar nete umedwar*  
 2<sup>nd</sup> phase-PERF-OBL-PP influential leader-PL candidate-PL  
*as-lel-ya mətədar-səŋgh-an-ca səmawəš*  
 be-2<sup>nd</sup> PERF-OBL voter-group-OBLPL-POSS PHR V:inclusion-MSG  
*hota*  
 v2-Be-PAST-3MSG

‘In the second phase constituencies of some influential leaders were included.’

*tya-muḷe ya tæpp-ya-t mətədar-an-na baher kaḏhṇ-ya-saṭhi*  
 that-PP this phase-OBL-PP voter-OBLPL-PP out v2 take-INF-OBL-PP  
*umedwar-a-t karyəkərt-ya-t curəs lag-el*  
 candidate-OBLPL-PP political worker-OBLPL-PP competition v2-FUT  
*aši əpekša hoti*  
 such expectation-FSG Be-PAST-3FSG

‘Therefore in these constituencies it was expected that candidates and party-workers would compete with each other for taking the voters to the voting centres.’

*matrə mətədar-an-ni pharsa uttsahə nə*  
 however voter-OBLPL-PP enough-MSG enthusiasm-MSG NEG  
*dakhəw-l-ya-ne aṇi kəḏək unha-muḷe mətədan-a-či*  
 show-PERF-OBL-PP and intense heat-PP voting-OBL-POSS  
*təkkewari maphək rahi-l-i*  
 percentage-FSG moderate stay-PERF-3FSG

‘However because of the lack of enthusiasm among the voters and because of the hot weather the turn-out was moderate.’

*pune mətədar səŋgh-a-t yənda don lakh mətədar*  
 Pune voter group-OBL-PP this year two lakh voter-PL  
*wəḏh-un-hi sumare kewəl 40.66 təkke*  
 increase-COMPL-EMPH approximately only 40.66 percent  
*mətədan jha-l-e*  
 voting-NSG happen-PERF-3NSG

‘This year though there was an increase of two hundred thousand voters in Pune constituency, the turn-out was only about 40.66 percent.’

## 12.1.3 Advertisements

## 1. Matrimonial:

<i>wādhu pahije.</i>	<i>apekša: gori</i>
bride wanted	expectation fair-skinned
‘Required a bride.’	‘Expectations: Fair.’
<i>pādāwidhār,</i>	<i>wāy 25 te 30</i>
degree-holder	age 25 to 30
‘Graduate.’	‘Age between 25 to 30.’
<i>wār 34,</i>	<i>5’8”, mārāṭha,</i>
bridegroom 34	5’8” Maratha
‘Bridegroom.’	‘Age 34 height 5’8” of Maratha caste.’
<i>Əṣṭreliya-t sthayik,</i>	<i>sidni yethe swātāha-ca bāṅgla</i>
Australia-PP settled	Sydney here self-poss bungalow
‘Settled in Australia.’	‘Owns a bungalow in Sydney.’
<i>mumbāi-māddhye swātāha-ca phlæt</i>	
Mumbai-PP self-poss flat	
‘Owns a flat in Mumbai.’	
<i>Phon: 020-24632068</i>	
‘Phone no.: 020-24622068.’	

## 2. Job:

<i>bāhuraṣṭriyā mobail kāmpani-la kārporēṭ sel-sathi mule wā</i>	
multinational mobile company-DAT corporate sale-PP boy-PL and	
<i>muli pahijet</i>	
girl-PL require	
‘A multinational mobile company requires boys and girls for corporate sale.’	
<i>niščit pəgar wā insentiwh. bhēṭa</i>	
assured salary and incentive meet-IMP-PL	
‘Assured salary and incentive.’ ‘Visit’	
<i>303, mānohār sosayṭi, karve roḍ, pune</i>	
‘303, Manohar society, Karve road, Pune.’	



## 3. Housing:

*swāpnā nāgāri*  
dream town  
'Dream town.'

*swāpnā nāgāri phej ek-ča 425 kuṭumb-an-nāntār ata*  
dream town phase one-POSS 425 family-OBL-PL-PP now  
*tumhala sāndhi!*  
you-DAT opportunity  
'After 425 families of Swapnanagari you (have got) the opportunity!'

*sārwa sukhāsuwidha-n-ni pāripurnā bhāwmyā*  
all comforts and facilities-OBLPL-PP complete grand  
*gruhā-prākālpā*  
housing-complex  
'A grand housing-complex with all comforts and facilities.'

*ithā phaktā ghārā-c nāwhe tār tya-sobāt aplya swāpn-an-na*  
here only house-EMPH NEG also that-with our dream-OBLPL-DAT  
*miḷel nāwi diśa ti-hi nisārgā-rāmmayā pārisār-a-t*  
get-FUT new direction that-EMPH nature-beautiful campus-OBL-PP  
'Here you will get not only a house but also a new direction to your dreams –  
and that too in a beautiful natural campus.'

*akārśāk bhāwmyā prāweśdwar, 24 tas surākṣa wyāwastha 70%*  
attractive grand entrance-gate 24 hours security system 70%  
*opān spes, phayār phaitiṇ sistim, lipht ani eriya-kārita jānaset*  
open space fire fighting system lift and area-PP generator-set  
*bākāp, siniyār sitijhān park, paṭi lān, ājun barec kahi*  
back-up senior citizen park party lawn in addition lot something.  
'Attractive grand entrance gate, security for 24 hours, 70% open space, fire-  
fighting system, generator-set backup for elevator and the open area, a park  
for senior citizens, a lawn for parties and many such things.'

*swāpnā nāgāri mhāṇje aplya hākka-cā ghār ghenya-saṭhi*  
dream town means our right-POSS house take-INF-OBL-PP  
*pāripurnā prākālpā*  
complete project  
'Dream town is a thorough project for having your own house.'

*twāra kār-a*  
PHRV hurry v2-IMP  
'Hurry up.'

*phej don-ce kahi-c phlæt šillək ahe-t aṇi*  
 phase two-POSS a few-EMPH flats remaining Be-PRES-3PL and  
*hi-c tumči sændhi ahe aplə swəpn-at-lə ghər*  
 this-EMPH your opportunity Be-PRES our dream-OBL-PP house  
*prətyəkš-a-t aṇ-ṇ-ya-či*  
 reality-OBL-PP bring-INF-OBL-POSS  
 ‘Only a few flats from phase 2 are available and it is your opportunity to bring  
 your dream house into reality.’

*tər hya wikenḍ-ca phayda gh-ya aṇi nəkki bheṭ*  
 so then this week-end-POSS benefit take-IMP and sure PHRV visit  
*dya swəpnə nəgri-la*  
 v2-IMP dream town-DAT  
 ‘So take advantage of this week-end and make sure to visit Swapna nagari.’

*kay ye-t-a-y na?*  
 what come-IMPF-2PL-Be-PRES PART  
 ‘So, are you coming?’

*saiṭ puṇe-našik haywe phon 9021112324*  
 ‘Sight. Pune-Nasik highway, Phone 9021112324.’

## 12.2 Spoken

### 12.2.1 Telephone conversation between two women

- Sudha: *hælo*  
 hello  
 ‘Hello’
- Krishna: *hælo, koṇ bol-t-əy*  
 hello who speak-IMPF-Be-PRES  
 ‘Hello, who is speaking?’
- Sudha: *mi sudha, widdya ahe ka*  
 I Sudha, Vidya Be-PRES Q  
 ‘I am Sudha, is Vidya there?’
- Krishna: *ek miniṭ*  
 one minute  
 ‘Wait for a minute, please.’  
 (He calls Vidya)
- Vidya: *hælo*  
 ‘Hello’

- Sudha: *hælo widdya, əgə phon əśasaṭhi ke-l-a ki*  
 ‘Hello Vidya’ VOC phone-MSG this-PP do-PERF-3MSG CONJ  
*tu udyā mokli ahe-s ka?*  
 you tomorrow free Be-PRES-2SG Q  
 ‘I called you to find out if you are free tomorrow.’
- Vidya: *ka gə?*  
 why VOC  
 ‘Why?’
- Sudha: *kahi nahi, udyā jew-ayla ye sakaḷi*  
 something NEG tomorrow lunch-DESI come-IMP morning  
 ‘Nothing special, come tomorrow for lunch.’
- Vidya: *kahi wiṣeṣ?*  
 something special  
 ‘Anything special?’
- Sudha: *əgə wibha aṇi mənḡiri a-l-ya-ət*  
 VOC Vibha and Manḡiri come-PERF-3FPL-Be-PRES  
 ‘Vibha and Manḡiri have come.’
- Vidya: *khərac? mə nəkki ye-in*  
 really then certainly come-FUT-1SG  
 ‘Really? Then I’ll certainly come.’
- Sudha: *aṇi jayči ghai kəru nəko-s*  
 and go-PRED hurry do-IMP NEG-2SG  
 ‘And don’t be in a hurry to go back.’
- Vidya: *čar-la nigħa-lə tər cal-el na?*  
 four-PP leave-PERF-3MSG then be alright-FUT-3SG PART  
 ‘If I leave at four, would it be alright?’
- Vidya: *ka?*  
 why  
 ‘Why?’
- Sudha: *əgə klas-e na*  
 VOC class-Be-PRES PART  
 ‘I have a class.’
- Vidya: *e ṭaṇ mar na ek diwəs*  
 VOC JDM:bunk-IMP PART one day  
 ‘Bunk the class for a day – please.’
- Sudha: *ə-*  
 ‘Oh...’
- Vidya: *plij, maḡha-sathi*  
 please, I-PP  
 ‘Please, for me.’

- Sudha: *ʈhik-e*  
alright-Be-PRES  
'It's alright.'
- Vidya: *ye hæ mag, mi waʈ bægh-t-e*  
come-IMP INTJ then, I PHRV way V2-IMPF-1FSG  
'So come for sure, I would be waiting for you.'
- Sudha: *bərə*  
'Ok.'
- Vidya: *ʈheu mə?*  
put then  
'Shall I put down the phone?'
- Sudha: *bheʈ-u*  
meet-HORT  
'Let's meet.'
- bay*  
bye  
'Bye.'
- Vidya: *bay*  
bye  
'Bye.'

### 12.2.2 Conversation between a doctor and a patient

- Doctor: *baba photo kaḍh-lel-a-e ka*  
gentleman X-ray photo draw-2<sup>nd</sup>PERF-3MSG-Be-PRES Q  
'Gentleman, have you taken the X-ray?'
- Patient: *nai*  
NEG  
'No.'
- Doctor: *he kuʈhl-ya ḍəkṭər-ni di-l-ə-y lih-un*  
This which-OBL doctor-ERG give-PERF-3NSG-Be-PRES write-COMPL  
'Which doctor has given this prescription?'
- Patient: *saswəḍ saswəḍ*  
Saswad Saswad  
'The doctor from Saswad'
- Doctor: *kay sangit-l-ə*  
what say-PERF-3NSG  
'What did he say?'
- Patient: *mhəṇa-l-e təpasṇi-bipasṇi kər*  
Say-PERF-HON PL checking-REDUP do-IMP  
'(He) asked (me) to go for checking.'

- photo-biṭo kaḏh-l-an*  
Photo-REDUP-MSG take-PERF-3MSG  
'(I) was X-rayed.'
- Doctor: *ṭibi-ca ajar saṅgit-l-a ka tya-n-ni tumha-la?*  
T.B.-POSS illness tell-PERF-3MSG Q he-PL-ERG you-DAT  
'Did he tell you that you have tuberculosis?'
- Patient: *kahi-c nahi saṅgit-l-ə*  
something-PART NEG tell-PERF-3MSG  
'He didn't tell me anything.'
- Doctor: *ya-wər lihi-lel-ə-y*  
this-PP write-PERF-3MSG-Be-PRES  
'It is written on this.'
- photo kaḏh-l-a nahi ka*  
picture-MSG take-PERF-3MSG NEG Q  
'You have been x-rayed, haven't you?'
- Patient: *ho*  
yes-PART  
'Yes'
- Doctor: *tikḏe toṇḏ kəra*  
there face do-IMP  
'Turn your face to that direction.'
- lam lam šwas ghy-a*  
long long breath take-IMP  
'Take a deep breath.'
- əho he purṇə ughḏ-aycə aṇi awaj nə kər-ta*  
VOC this completely open-PRED and sound-MSG NEG do-IMPF  
*šwas gh-ya*  
breath take-IMP  
'You should open it completely and take a full breath without making any sound.'
- dəm-ya-ca ajar ahe ka tumha-la*  
asthema-OBL-POSS illness Be-PRES Q you-DAT  
'Do you have asthema?'
- (Patient nods his head)
- dəm-ya-ca ajar kədhi-pasun ahe*  
asthema-OBL-POSS illness when-PP Be-PRES  
'Since when do you have asthema?'
- Patient: *bərec diwəs jha-le*  
many days happen-PERF  
'For many days.'

- Doctor: *kiti wərš-a-pasun ahe*  
how many year-OBL-PP Be-PRES  
'For how many years?
- Patient: *čar-pac wərš-a-pasun*  
four-five year-OBL-PP  
'For the last four or five years.'
- Doctor: *mədhun mədhun hoto ka*  
from time to time Be-PAST Q  
'Does it affect you from time to time?'
- Patient: *hə! ata jastə-c jha-l-a-y*  
INTJ now more-PART become-PERF-3MSG-Be-PRES  
'Yes, now it has increased.'
- Doctor: *tumhi əsə kər-aya-cə baba*  
you like this do-PRED gentleman  
'You do as I tell you, gentleman.'
- Patient: *hə*  
INTJ  
'Yes.'
- Doctor: *əušadh-a-či khiḍki-e šejari-e hə*  
Medicine-OBL-POSS window-3FSG near-Be-PRES INTJ  
'There is a window for getting medicine nearby, ok?'
- tithe ja-un tumha-la injekšən de-til aṇi hya*  
there go-COMPL you-DAT injection give-FUT-3PL and these  
*goḷya de-til*  
tablets give-FUT-3PL  
'You go there and they will give you a shot and these tablets.'

### 12.2.3 Television announcement

*nəməskar. sər-w-an-cə swagət ayḍiya saregəmə pə-mədhe*  
salute all-OBLPL-POSS welcome idea sa-re-ga-ma-pa-PP  
'I welcome you all to this programme Idea Sa-re-ga-ma-pa.'

*məharaštra-ca ac-ca awaj apəṇ*  
Maharashtra-POSS-MSG today-POSS-MSG voice-MSG we  
*ge-l-ya səha aṭhəwḍ-ya-pasun əik-ət aha-t*  
go-PERF-OBL six week-OBL-PP hear-IMPF Be-PRES-PL  
'You have been listening to the voice of today's Maharashtra for the last six weeks.'

*hi spərdha jəwha-pasun suru jha-l-i*  
 this-FSG competition-FSG when-PP PHRV: beginning v2-3FSG  
*mhənje tin aṭhəwḍ-yan-pasun ya mənča-wər bərec kahi*  
 that is three week-OBL-PL-PP this the stage-PP a lot something  
*ghəḍ-ləl-ə apən pahi-l-ə*  
 happen-2<sup>nd</sup>-PERF-3NSG we see-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Since the beginning of this contest, that is, for (the last) three weeks many things have happened on this stage.’

*tewha puḍhe ja-ŋ-ya-adhi baḡhu ya-t ki mag-ča*  
 so forward go-INF-OBL-PP see-HORT-PL CONJ back-POSS-OBL  
*aṭhəwḍ-ya-t nemkə kay jha-l-ə hotə*  
 week-OBL-PP exactly what happen-PERF-3NSG Be-PAST-3NSG  
 ‘Therefore let us see what exactly happened last week before we go ahead.’

*hi spərdha kiwwa mhənu ya hi gaŋ-ya-či*  
 this-FSG competition or say-HORT this-FSG singing-OBL-PP  
*məiphəl jəwha suru jha-l-i tewha*  
 concert-FSG when PHRV: beginning v2-PERF-3FSG then  
*aplya-bərobər pac gayək aŋi pac gayika hotya*  
 we-OBL-PP five singer-MPL and five singer-FPL Be-PAST-3FPL  
 ‘When this contest started there were five male singers and five female singers with us.’

*ata matrə aplya-sobət ahet pac gayika aŋi*  
 now however we-OBL-PP Be-PRES-3PL five singer-FPL and  
*donə-c gayək*  
 two-EMPH singer-MPL  
 ‘But now there are five female singers and only two male singers with us.’

*jordar ʔal-yan-ni səgl-yan-cə swagət karu ya*  
 vigorous clap-OBL-PL-PP all-OBL-POSS-3NSG welcome-NSG do-HORT  
 ‘Let us give a thunderous applause to welcome all the singers.’

*aŋi aṭtyəntə məhətw-a-či goštə mhənje ya*  
 and very much importance-OBL-POSS FSG thing-FSG that is these  
*səgl-yan-mədhe əs-ləl-i ek surel curəs ji*  
 all-OBL-PL-PP be-2<sup>nd</sup>-PERF-3FSG a melodious competition which  
*ahe tya-mule aplya-la phar surel aŋi əprətim*  
 Be-PRES that-PP we-OBL-DAT very melodious and excellent  
*gaŋi aik-ayla miḷa-ləl-i ahet*  
 song-NPL listen-DESI get-2<sup>nd</sup>-PERF-3NPL Be-PRES-3PL

‘And what is more important is that because of the melodious competition among them we have been able to listen to very melodious and excellent songs.’

*pəṇ curəs                      kiti-hi                      caṅgli                      əs-l-i*  
 but competition-FSG how much-EMPH good-FSG be-PERF-3FSG  
*təri                      sudha nirṇay                      ha                      matrə kəreḱṭ                      योग्य*  
 even then also decision-FSG that PART correct proper  
*lag-ayla                      paḥiḱe aṇi tya-saṭhi don uttuṅgə                      व्यक्तित्व*  
 be declared-DESI want and that-PP two towering individuality-PL  
*aplya-                      sobət ahe-t*  
 our-OBL with Be-PRES-PL

‘But even though competition is good, it should end in a correct, proper decision and for that there are two towering personalities with us.’

*ṭal-yan-ni                      swagət                      kəru ya*  
 clap-OBL-PP welcome do-HORT  
 ‘Let us welcome them with clapping our hands.’



## APPENDIX A

# The language of women

## A historical perspective

The language of men and women has never been the same, whether it is a gender difference or difference caused by cultural and social ethos, no one can definitely confirm. Marathi originated from Sanskrit and Sanskrit is thought to be the language of Gods. Women were forbidden to speak Sanskrit, and the justification given was that it was too difficult for them to understand. Vedic mantras change their meaning according to a change in tone, and it was believed that women were incapable of uttering them properly. Women and lower class people used to speak substandard *prakrit* languages like Pali. Times changed but women were still living a second-class citizen's life until they were constitutionally given equality in 1950. Language is a social phenomenon and linguistic communication and culture are extremely intertwined with one another. The lexical, semantic, syntactic, phrasal, and stylistic expressions in a particular language reflect very clearly the hierarchical social status of people in that particular society. Women, being in a secondary position, are still thought to be expressing non-standard utterances.

Women have come a long way in making changes in their use of language. Women of the past, who were illiterate, whose life was stuck only within the four walls of the house, who rarely spoke with men outside the house, who spoke directly with their husbands only when they were alone, had particular ways of expressing themselves. They were not supposed to speak loudly and in a hoarse voice. It was a stigmatized feminine way of speaking. Gentle women were required to mould themselves as per the social frame fixed for them. It was a mandatory familial rule that women from gentle families should lower their face, lower their voice, should use suggestive language, should have sweet voice and modest tone while speaking. Women were never to address their husbands directly, it was irreverent to call the husband by his name. He was to be addressed as *Swami* 'owner', *Nath* 'lord' or with respectful expression such as *Aho*. In many villages, women used to call their husband *karbhari* 'manager', *malak* 'owner, possessor', *savkar* 'rich man, banker', *yajman* 'protector, husband, host'.<sup>1</sup> Husbands were addressed indirectly in the passive voice as for instance What's being written? Or they were

referred to, without their names, in the third person as in, 'A gift was given to me from that side'. A suggestive sentence such as 'Is Tilak at home?', 'His headdress is not at its proper place' would be uttered about him instead of him being directly referred to. Certain expressions to show fear, surprise, shyness were unique to women. There was a taboo on using some expressions by women. The curses that men uttered usually referred to illegitimate sexual contacts with women, but if women uttered curses, that would be wishing the destruction and death of a particular person and would not be harsh as men's. Women were not to refer to their bodily happenings directly, and a figurative use or some symbolic expressions were used instead. Words such as menstruation, delivery, vagina were taboo. Men were not supposed to listen to 'feminine' talk.

Women had a very rich vocabulary in their specialized fields such as cooking, knitting, embroidery, sewing etc. They had typical phrasal expressions of their own to express their feelings.<sup>2</sup> Their language was proverbial and dramatic showing the wisdom of their experience. A rich collection of folklore shows the literary power of expressions of women. They used to sing while doing the work in farms, grinding grain, drawing water from the well and other heavy physical work to lessen their labour and to entertain themselves. It was a free and spontaneous expression of their feelings that found an outlet in poetry, stories, and memoirs that have passed down from generation to generation in an oral tradition. On special occasions such as weddings, naming ceremonies, and acts of worship, women would sing songs specially created for such occasions. Some of them were meaningless, but many of them displayed a fine lyrical play of words. A wealth of such folk literature reflects women's imaginative use of language to express their life style, their relationship with other men and women and has the purity, innocence, urgency and genuine need for linguistic expression.

Times changed and so did the language of women. Though schools for women had already started in the last three decades of the 19th century, it was not until independence that women had access to education on a large scale. The development of large urban centers over villages, extended families turning into nuclear ones, industrialization, and the need for women to serve to meet the growing needs of families had a great impact on the life of women. They came into the mainstream and started taking part in social and political activities. To some extent family life turned from autocracy to democracy. Women became important members of the family, whose views were being consulted and taken into account. The capacity to earn money gave them some power over other members of the family. The new life style also gave them some freedom in the use of language. The new woman considers her husband as equal to her and calls him by his first name, even in the presence of elder people. She no longer feels that she has to be a typical traditional 'feminine' figure like her foremothers. She can be free in her expres-

sions. With her own social life outside the house, she has to communicate with men and no longer feels shy to do so. Women with positions of authority have to be very firm and critical about the use of their linguistic expressions. There are fewer taboo words for women. This does not mean that women have the full freedom to express themselves, as they wish. As in the old days they have to keep silent about their private life and violence inside the house. There is always a fear that the family might be broken if the truth is spoken.

Irrespective of changes in time, it is thought that women have some special traits of speech that come along with their biological being. Common stereotypes about women prevail. For example it is presumed that women are more talkative than men, they like to report everything in detail to others and give more importance to things that other people think insignificant, they are impatient and cannot keep secrets. Any secret that is told to a woman is spread widely, men prefer not to tell them about serious matters. They like to give explanations, even when they are not asked, in order to prove that they are innocent if anything wrong has happened. If they do not get favorable response, they immediately change their argument and try to show that they have the same opinion as the other party. They are more emotional and can laugh or weep for smaller reasons. Women like to admire their husbands in public, where men do not reciprocate. Women do not understand humor and cannot make it. Women are more serious about life and cannot enjoy light moments or cannot take life lightly. Women are more extroverted than men. Women cannot speak about politics, international happenings, science or serious subjects because they have a very limited experience of life, therefore their range of topics is limited.

All these presumptions about women are generated by men. These male characteristics show that women are still under the dominance of men, which brings limitations to their freedom of speech. They try to please their husbands by making their roles clear and compensate in language what they lack in status. These are not gender traits, but traits developed by social constraints.

The literature of women in the last one hundred and thirty years reflects the evolution and the use of language by women. Poetry and memoir were prevalent in the early stages as they allowed expression of direct individual experiences. In the middle stage, women wrote prolific stories and novels that revolved round the strife and problems that were created by changing times. It was a period of transition that showed that women also had the imaginative creative power of words to express themselves through the medium of language. Literature produced after the International Women's Year (1975) tends to be more feminist than feminine. Women writers of this era make powerful use of language to express their anger against patriarchal establishments and vehemently declare their demand for freedom and equality. However, they are aware that they are

using the language constructed by men, which has an ample collection of the words of power, dominance and possessiveness. They sense a lack of appropriate words that can express their genuine feminine feelings, which are an asset to their imaginative power. They feel a need for language that will communicate those experiences of life that are unique to women. Such expressions cannot be found in the set literary forms like stories and novels, so women are in search of forms that are more open to a full play of their feelings. The demand for equality does not mean being masculine in all fields of life. They want to keep their own identity as women yet to keep their equality in difference. Today, women strive to keep the tradition of women's literature alive by pushing the envelope in search of uniquely female modes of language.

## Notes

1. Husbands were also referred to as: *swari* 'respectable person', *swatah* 'self', *tikde* 'there', *ikade* 'here', *konitari* 'someone', *ghari* 'home' etc.
2. Some special expressions: *agbai*, *ayya* 'Oh my God', *kinai* 'you know what', *gade* 'oh dear/dear one', *kitti kitti* 'so many times, no matter how much'.

## APPENDIX B

# Acquisition of Marathi

## A case study

The following is the data of a child born in March 2003 in Pune in a middle-class family speaking Standard Marathi. The data is presented chronologically. The six phases cover duration of about two and a half years.

The presentation is divided broadly into divisions: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics. Along with the linguistic development, things noted as part of other types of development are also mentioned under other abilities.

Ab stands for Abhikhya, the girl; M for her mother, F for father, GM for grand-mother, R for relatives, S for visitors, outsiders, people around etc. and O for the observer. The observer was in constant touch with the child – perhaps next to the mother.

### Phonology

Phase 1: December 2003 – March 2004

ə ... i ... u sequences as utterances

Words: *baba*, *bappa*, *kaka*, *ai*; but without referents.

O: *baba* / *ai*      *kuṭhe?*  
father / mother where  
'Where is father or mother?'

Ab: Looks at father / mother.

Understands *ye* 'come', *bhur* 'we are going out', *mammə* 'food'.

Ab: *ai* 'mother' > *ai*  
*aḷi* 'grand-mother' > *adi*  
*baba* 'father' > *bapa*

Understands some spoken words and sentences.

Ab enjoys cooing in the cradle, produces *a ... a ... a ... a*, babbles, produces sounds using lips. Understands *de* 'give', *ye* 'come' *cal* 'Let's go' but cannot implement imperatives such as:

*he baba-n-na de*  
this father-OBLPL-DAT give-IMP  
'Give this to father.'

Says *papa* for water and *mamə* for food. Imitates words that are heard: *aušəd* 'medicine' > *osa*.

## Phase 2: April 2004 – June 2004

O: says nonsensical words such as *pətə unḡaḡa pəte*.

Ab enjoys it and creates her own nonsensical words.

Says *ai* and *aba* for catching attention. Uses *ai* for demanding things.

Enjoys the English songs 'Johny Johny', 'Hickory Dickory Dock' though she does not understand its meaning.

*curmure* 'puffed rice' > *čimi*  
*dadhi* 'beard' > *podī*  
*phuga* 'balloon' > *phada*  
*puja* 'worship' > *paja*  
*mruṇal* 'proper name' > *məyan*

All velar sounds, mid-palatal and retroflex sounds, *r*, *l* > dental.

Likes the song 'Old Mcdonald had a farm'.

*həwəy* 'want' > *howəy*  
*ḡukkər* 'pig' > *duttə*  
*čiwḡa* 'a dish' > *čiwda*

## Phase 3: July 2004 – September 2004

The palatal sound *š* is produced.

*phuga* 'balloon' > *phada*, *goli* 'candy' > *dui*, *masa* 'fish' > *maša*, *čiwḡa* 'a dish' > *čewda*, *šrikhaṇḡa* 'a sweet dish' > *šitənda*, *dəḡəḡ* 'stone' > *dəḡəḡ*, *čəklet* 'chocolate' > *dadet*, *ḡərəm* 'hot' > *dəḡəm*, *khau* 'sweets' > *tau*, *jilbi* 'a sweet dish' > *jibbi*, *garyagara* 'an expression in a song of rain' > *bayabaya*, *ukəḡ-t-əy* (feel hot-IMPF-Be-PRES) 'it's hot' > *utəttəy*, *əwəntika* 'a proper name' > *əmtəmta*, *komḡa* 'cock' > *tomda*, up-

*piṭ* ‘a dish’ > *uppəṭ*, *čikku* ‘type of fruit’ > *čittu*, *meṇbatti* ‘candle’ > *bewatti*, *aiskrim kha-yla* (ice-cream eat-PRED) ‘to eat icecream’ > *ašimtaya*, *jhaḍu* ‘broom’ > *jadu*, *məla* ‘to me’ (occasionally) > *məya*.

She can produce *t*, *d*, *n*, *č*, *ǰ*, *p*, *b*, *m*, *y*, *š*.

Phase 4: October 2004 – December 2004

*kəḍəkləšmi* ‘a type of mendicant’ > *təḍətləšmi*

*poṭ-at*                      *bhuk* > *potat bhut*  
 stomach-LOC    hunger  
 ‘hungry in stomach’

*sonu-cə*                      *poṭ* > *šonučə pot*  
 Sonu-POSS    stomach  
 ‘Sonu’s stomach’

Retroflex *ḍ* in *bint-i-kəḍe* (wall-OBL-PP) ‘towards the wall’. But no *ṭ*

*o* > *u*: *ṭoc-le* (prick-PERF) ‘pricked’ > *tutle*

Aspiration:

*pawə*                      *udhun* (= *ughḍ-un*) *de* ∴ *gh* > *dh*  
 powder    open-COMPL                      v2  
 ‘Open the tin of face-powder.’

*ghəri* ‘at home’ > *dhəli*

*gal-a-la*                      *law-ti* > *dayaya lawti*  
 cheek-OBL-DAT    apply-IMPf(FSG)  
 ‘applies to cheek’

Initial *l* is pronounced but medial *l* becomes *y*.

Aspirated: *bh*

*bhur* *ge-la* > *bhuy deya*  
 away    go-PERF-3MSG  
 ‘(He) went away’

Ab likes babbling, making nonsensical words such as *mača*, *pača*, *tača*, *peyu*, *teyu*, *šeyu*...

*raṅgoli* ‘white powder for drawing’ > *yandoi*, *gājra* ‘garland’ > *ḡājla*

She can produce palatal *č*, *ḡ*, *y*.

*cuklā* ‘made mistake’ > *tutlā*

*ḡhopāl-ya-wār* (swing-OBL-PP) ‘on the swing’ > *jotalyawāl*

Metathesis:

*ḡin-ya-t*                      *bās-un*      *ḡew-ti* > *ḡinyat ḡāsun bebtī*  
 staircase-OBL-LOC sit-COMPL eat-IMPF-3FSG  
 ‘She eats sitting on the staircase.’

Aspiration: *pāṅkha* > *pānthā*, *kābutār* ‘dove’ > *tābutāi*

Ab is fluent in speech. She never pauses in the middle.

*phulāpakhāru* ‘butterfly’ > *phultatlu*, *swāypaghār-a-t* (kitchen-OBL-LOC) ‘in the kitchen’ > *sādḡāyat*, *gogālgay* ‘snail’ > *dodālday*, *bārōbār* ‘with’ > *bābbā*

Metathesis:

*dḡhāwāl-u* (stir-INCP) ‘stir’ > *dālāwu*, *khup* ‘much’ > *dhup*

Retroflex *ṇ* is acquired. *ṭ*, *ṭh* both are now replaced by dental *th*.

Velar sounds: She tries to move the back of the velum to the roof of the mouth. The result is: the velar sound gets dropped.

*koṇ* ‘who’ > *on*, *kapāḡ* ‘cloth’ > *apāḡ*

Phase 5: January 2005 – March 2005

*dāgāḡ* ‘stone’ > *dādād*, *gudgulya* > *dudulya* ‘tickling’

Ab: *māḡe*    *dat*    *pandāl*    *pandāl*    *ḡubāl*  
 my(PL) teeth white    white    very  
 ‘My teeth are very white.’

M: (sarcastically) *ḡahaha!*  
 Wow!

She understands the sarcastic intention and complains:

Ab: *ai*            *ḡahaha*    *mḡhān-tti*  
 mother    wow    say-IMPF-3FSG.  
 ‘Mother says ‘wow.’



Commentary sentence type:

*čimpanji ae əsə wat-t-əy mǝ-la*  
 chimpanzee Be-PRES that think-IMPf-Be-PRES I-DAT  
 ‘I think it is a chimpanzee.’

*mi tay (=kay) mhən-ət hote*  
 I what say-IMPf Be-PAST  
 ‘What I was saying....’

*monika kaku* ‘Monika aunty’ > *monita tatu*

But when O asks

*monita tatuca tata tute dela*  
 ‘Where is monika aunty’s uncle?’

Ab: *aphis-a-t*  
 (office-OBL-LOC)  
 ‘to the office.’

Phase 6: April 2005 – March 2006

*yuma (=rumal) yayya (=rah-i-la)*  
 handkerchief forget-PERF  
 ‘(I) forgot to take (my) handkerchief.’

*bathəl wədi (=bakhər wədi)* ‘a kind of eatable.’

Retroflex: *ḍ* as in

*šəša-ne mallin [=mar-lin] uḍi*  
 rabbit-ERG PHR V: V-PERF-FSG jump-3FSG  
 ‘The rabbit jumped.’

*ghubḍ* ‘owl’ > *dhubḍ*

Alveolar: *s, j*

*kəsməs bænk* ‘Cosmos bank’ > *tusmus byaṅk*  
*æ* is pronounced as *ya*  
*barkasa čenḍu* ‘small ball’ > *bartusa čenḍu*

Metathesis:

*səphərčənd* ‘apple’ > *phəsəčənd*,  
*šusəkəṭ* ‘with urine’ > *šušəkəṭ*  
*gəḍgəḍ-t-əy* (thunder-IMPF-Be-PRES) ‘thunders’ > *ḍəṭḍəṭəy*

Intonation with the particle *tər*

F: (*rəŋgə brəš-ne*)    *law*    *na*  
 (paint brush-PP) put-IMP PART  
 ‘Paint with brush (now)’  
 Ab: *law-te*    *na, adhi buḍəw-te*    *tər!*  
 put-IMPF-1FSG PART, first dip-IMPF-1FSG PART  
 ‘I shall paint it but first let me dip the brush in the paints.’

*ḍ, ṭ, ṭh* acquired.  
*korīwkam* ‘carving’ > *toyəmtam*  
*æ* > *ya* in English man, cat and bat.

## Morphology

There is nothing significant in Phase 1.

### Phase 2

When M, F, GM, O are not present she calls them by using *ai, baba, adi, aba*.

Repeats compounds:

*laḍu ani papəḍ*  
 ‘Laddu and papad.’

Uses N+Oblique without a postposition:

*aba-n-na* > *aba-n*  
 grandfather-PL-DAT  
 ‘to grandfather’  
*kəpaṭ-a-t* > *kəpaṭ-a*  
 cupboard-OBL-LOC  
 ‘in the cupboard’  
*mi čəppəl tewli*  
 ‘kept my chappal’

Uses *ajun* as an ADV to mean ‘(I want) more.’

### Phase 3

For *ʈopəŋ* ‘cap of a pen’ she uses *bətən* ‘button.’

Endearment suffix:

*abu* (= *aba*) *bəs*  
grandpa sit-IMP  
‘Grandpa, sit down!’

*at* ‘inside’, *baheṛ* ‘outside’ are confused:

Ab: *at ja-u* [= *baheṛ ja-u*]  
inside go-IMP outside go-IMP  
‘Let’s go out.’

Use of feminine verb form:

M: *pus-tes ka?*  
wipe-IMPF-2FSG Q  
‘Will you wipe it out?’  
Ab: *pus-te*  
wipe-IMPF-1FSG  
‘I shall wipe it.’

### Phase 4

New words: *timpī* for ‘computer.’

Ab: *bintitāḍe ja-ycə* [= *bhinti-čə kəḍ-e-ne jaycə*]  
wall-PP go-PRED wall-POSS side-OBL-PP go-PRED  
‘I want to go by the side of the wall.’

Endearment: uses *u* and *i*

*abi* / *abu* (for *aba* ‘grandfather’)  
*aḷu* (for *aḷi* ‘grandmother’)

Past tense form: No GN markers

O: *mi pəḍlo*  
I fall-PERF-1MSG  
‘I fell.’

Ab: *aba pəḍlo*  
 Aba-MSG fall-PERF-1MSG  
 'Aba fell.'

Word formation: Adj > N + V (PHR V)

O: *ti haṭṭi ahe*  
 she obstinate Be-PRES  
 Ab: *ti haṭṭipəṇa təl-te*  
 she obstinacy do-IMPF-3FSG  
 'She is full of obstinacy.'

Future tense: No number distinction

O: *tu kay kəršil*  
 you Q do-FUT-2SG  
 'What will you do?'  
 Ab: *mi khelšil*  
 I play-FUT-2SG  
 instead of *khelen*.  
                                 play-FUT-1SG  
 'I will play.'

Word coining: For *bucači phule* 'a type of flower', she uses *ajhəṇi*

Interjection: Ab: (when tired) *ale lama* (= *are rama*) 'Oh Ram!'

Postposition: No distinction between *wər* 'above' and *warun* 'from above'.

Ab: *tumcə maṇḍiwəl pəḍlə*  
 your lap-on fall-PERF-3NSG  
 instead of *maṇḍi-wərun* (from the lap)  
 '(It) fell from your lap.'

Causative-non-causative same form:

Ab: *mau-la phil-ət* (= *phirte*)  
 cat-DAT turn around-IMPF-1FSG  
 instead of *phir-əw-te*  
                                 turn around-CAUS-IMPF-1FSG  
 'I am turning around the (toy) cat.'

Coining:

*mə-la ube lane təl*  
*məla ubhe rah-ṇe kər*  
 I-DAT standing(ADV) stay-INF do-IMP  
 ‘Make me stand up.’

Postposition:

F: *lengā ghal-u*  
 trousers wear-IMP-1PL  
 ‘Let me help you put on the trousers.’  
 Ab: *jhop-l-ya-wər (= jhop-ayč-a-wēi)*  
 sleep-PERF-OBL-PP sleep-PRED-OBL-PP  
 ‘– At the time of sleeping.’

Irregular verb forms: *ja-* ‘go’ (base for IMPF and PROSP); *ge-* (for PERF), *jaṇar* (= will go)

Ab: *de-nal (= ge-ṇar (go-PROSP))*  
 ‘will go.’

No causative:

*mi tula ud-lə*  
 I you-DAT flow/fly-PERF  
 (= *mi tujha-wər pani uḍ-əw-lə*)  
 (I your(OBL)-PP water flow-CAUS-PERF)  
 ‘I sprinkled water on you.’

Past *jha-lə* (happen-PERF) ‘happened’ > *ho-lə*.

## Phase 5

The irregular verb *ho* in the perfective becomes *jha-l-ə* and in future becomes *ho-il*.

Ab: *ata dar (=gar) hui-lə (=jha-lə) na*  
 now cold become-PERF Q  
 ‘Is it cool now?’

## Antonymy:

*thodi* (*thoḍi*) ‘a little’ vs *mothe* (*moṭhi*) ‘big’ instead of *khup* ‘a lot’, *bərobər* ‘right’ vs *khoṭə* ‘false’ for ‘wrong’, *de* ‘give’ vs *ghe* ‘take’ are reciprocals. Ab uses *de* for both.

*tu mə-la de* (=ghe)  
 you I-DAT give-IMP  
 ‘Take me (up).’

No inherent causatives: use of the productive causative *-əw* instead.

- Ab: *məla dis-əw* (instead of *dakhəw* ‘show’) *na*  
 I-DAT see-CAUS IMP PART  
 ‘Show (it) to me.’  
*he tutəw* (instead of *toḍ* ‘cut’) *na*  
 this break-CAUS IMPcut intra) PART
- Ab: *tu mə-ya adətəw* *na*  
 [= *aṭhəw* ‘remember’ instead of *aṭhwəṇ kər* ‘remind’]  
 you I-DAT remember-IMP PART  
 ‘You remind me.’
- Ab: *tu pawdəl pədəw*  
 [= *pəḍ-əw* ‘fall-CAUS instead of *pəḍ* ‘cause to fall’]  
 you powder fall-CAUS IMP  
 ‘You make the powder come out.’
- Ab: *məla pədəw* (=pəḍ)  
 ‘Make me fall / Fell me.’
- Ab: *mə-la bədəw*  
 [= *bəgh-əw* ‘see-CAUS’ instead of *dakhəw* ‘show’]  
 I-DAT see-CAUS  
 ‘Make me see it / Show it to me.’

Coining: *dičipəči* for *kiṭli* ‘kettle’

Vocative: *aye!* Then again *ai!* ‘Mother!’

Word-choice: Ab uses *saṇ* ‘tell’ for *mhaṇ* ‘say’.

Postposition: Ab: *aba-šedali* [= *šejari* ‘near’ instead of *bərobər* ‘with’]

Ab: *aba-šedali da-u* (=jau)  
 grandpa-PP go-IMP  
 ‘Let’s go with grandpa.’

When corrected she repeated: *ababəyobəy* (= *bərobər*) ‘with grandpa.’

## Phase 6

Gender: *tumči* (your (F)) [instead of *tumca* (M)] *bail* (bullock) 'Your bullock.']

Irregular noun form:

Ab: *bhau-la* [instead of *bawa-la* (brother-DAT)]  
'to the brother.'

Gender: self-correction:

Ab: *tyača*      *pali*    *-tyači*      *pali*  
his-POSS(M) turn(F)-his-POSS-(F) turn  
'his turn'

Noun classification and Oblique:

Oblique deletion or Ø oblique marker: *kəp-a-mədhun* (cup-OBL-PP) > *kəp-mədhun* (cup-PP) 'from a cup.'

Oblique addition: *wəḍ-a-ce jhaḍ* (banyan-OBL-PP tree) > *wəḍ-ya-ce jhaḍ* 'banyan tree.'

Ab calls the mosquito-net *pinjra* 'cage.'

English borrowing regularised: *bəs* 'bus' does not allow a morphophonemic change. Therefore *bəs-mədhe* (bus-PP 'in the bus') is fine but not *bəš-it*.

Ab: *mi*   *bəš-it*   *bəš-le*  
I(F) bus-PP ride-PERF  
'I rode a bus.'

Ab likes to make non-sensical words: *limpu* – *jimpu* – *timpu*.

Coining:

*uḍ-te*    *pohe*  
fly-IMPF flattened rice  
'rice – not sticking into a lump'

Tense: Prospective + Future used:

Ab: *ho-ṇal əs-el* [= *ho-ṇar əs-el* (happen-PROSP be-FUT)]

Reduplication:

O: *bhat-bit* (*bhat* 'rice' > REDUP *bhat-bit* 'rice and something else')

Ab: *aba-biba*, *aai-bii*

O: *aba baba*

Ab: *nai aba-biba*

'No, it is aba biba.'

Postposition: *-saṭhi* is preferred to *-la*

*maṭa-saṭhi de* [= *mə-la de* (I-DAT give-IMP)]  
 ‘Give me.’

*bauli-saṭhi de* [= *bahuli-la* (doll-DAT)]  
 ‘Give to the doll.’

Predictive + Neg

Ab: *maṭa-kāḍe uṣi nāwti tewa maṭa-kāḍe uṣi-c nās-ayč-i*  
 my-PP pillow-F NEG-Be-PAST then my-PP pillow NEG-Be-PRED-F  
 ‘When I did not have a pillow, I would not have it.’  
 (= In the past I did not have a pillow)

Ab: *pəḍa ala* [= *pəḍ-ayla a-la*]  
 fall-DESI V2-PERF  
 ‘was on the verge of falling.’

Ab: *yukti a-li* [= *PHR v kəlpəna suc-li*]  
 ‘idea struk.’

Plural: *kəḍu* (SG) ‘chalk’ > *khəḍ-we* ‘chalks’

## Syntax

There is nothing significant in Phase 1.

Phase 2

Ab repeats the last word of a speaker’s sentence. Example:

M: *khali thew*  
 down put-IMP  
 ‘Put it down.’  
 > Ab: *tew* ‘put.’

M: *apəṇ jau*  
 we go-HORT  
 ‘Let’s go.’  
 > Ab: *jau*

Ab uses one word questions:

*kadu* [= *kadh-u* (take out-IMP)]  
 ‘Shall I take it out?’



*diu* [*de-u*(give-IMP)]

‘Shall I give this?’

Names body parts, eatables and kitchen pottery.

Uses two-word sentences:

*pay-atlā hawāy*

foot-PP want

‘I want footwear.’

*mau hawā*

cat want

‘(I) want the cat’

Repeats the last two words of a sentence heard.

O: *apəṇ geṭ bāndā kār-u*

we gate PHR V:close-FUT

‘We will close the gate.’

> Ab: *bāndā kārū*

‘close the gate.’

O: *arečča! ethe ahe te jhaḍ kap-aycā*

Oh here Be-PRES that tree cut-PRED NON-FIN

‘Here is that (instrument) for cutting tree.’

> *jhaḍ tap-aycā* ‘tree-cutter’

### Phase 3

Answering the yes-no questions:

M: *maṇḍī-t bās-ayce tu-la*

lap-PP sit-PRED you-DAT

‘Do you want to sit in my lap?’

Ab: *tu-la* (=Yes)

O: *tula guī de-u*

you-DAT candy give-IMP

‘Shall I give you a candy?’

Ab: *dī-u* (=yes / give)

O: *chāl, baheṛ ja-u*

come-IMP outside go-HORT

‘Let’s go out.’

Ab: *ǰau*

go-HORT

‘Okay’

O: *gadi pay-a-t ye-te*

mattress feet-OBL-PP come-IMPF

‘You stumble against the mattress when you walk.’

Ab tries to understand the structure by repeating each word with long pauses. She repeats new sentences to herself.

Inquiry: Ab wanted to know where the persons were.

Ab: *aba?*

‘Grandfather?’

O: *ah-et*

Be-PRES PL

‘He is here.’

Ab: *ai?*

‘Mother?’

O: *abhyas*

‘Studying.’

Ab: *aǰi?*

‘Grandmother?’

O: *kəleǰ-at*

college-PP

‘(She’s gone) to college.’

Ab: *baba?*

‘Father?’

O: Office

O: *aṇi abbhikhya? – aba-n-kəde*

and Abhikhya? – Aba-OBL PL-PP

‘And where is Abhikhya?’ – ‘with grandpa.’

Ab repeats only the postposition *təde* (= *kəde* ‘with’). Ab uses inflected forms. Words used with postpositions:

O: *baba kuṭhe ge-la*

father where go-PERF

‘Where has your father gone?’

Ab: *aphis-at*

office-PP

‘To office.’

O: *pustək kuni aṇ-lə*  
 book who-ERG bring-PERF  
 ‘Who brought the book?’

Ab: *ata-ni [=atya-ni]*  
 aunt-ERG  
 ‘Aunt.’

When grandfather brought candy for Ab:

Ab: *dui aṇli ĵəmči (candy (goli))*  
 candy bring-PERF brandname-POSS  
 ‘(GF) brought jem-candy.’

Ab: *tatl-e ləbad-e ləp-un bəš-liš*  
 plate-VOC naughty-VOC PHR V: hide-COMPL V2-PERF  
 Oh plate naughty hiding  
 ‘Oh naughty plate, you are hiding?’

Ab: *aba bəša*  
 grandpa-VOC sit-IMP PL  
 ‘Grandpa, sit down.’

Ab: *pot bhəy-ya [= poṭ bhər-lə]*  
 belly be full-PERF-3NSG  
 ‘Belly is full.’

Ab: *sonu-la čiddi (= čəḍḍi) dat-li (= ghat-li)*  
 Sonu-DAT underwear(F) put on-PERF(F)  
 ‘(Someone) helped Sonu put on her underwear.’

: *aṇi-ni sonu-la čətri aṇ-li (SOV)*  
 GM-ERG Sonu-DAT umbrella(F) bring-PERF  
 ‘Grandma brought an umbrella for Sonu.’

Ab repeats: *čətti (= čətri) aṇni (= aṇli) šonula aṇini (VOS)*

Question formation:

Ab: *toḍə [=thoḍə] hawə ↑*  
 a little more want?  
 ‘Do you want a little more?’

O: *tu kay khallə*  
 you-ERG what eat-PERF  
 ‘What did you eat?’

Ab: *čiḍa – čiḍḍa tay-ya [= čiwḍa khal-la]*  
 chiwda eat-PERF  
 ‘I ate chiwda (a dish of flattened rice).’

O: *kay kər-te*

what do-IMPF-2FSG

‘What are you doing?’

Ab: *jad-te [= jhaḍ-te] – abanca*

*tunca [= aba-n-ča kun-ča-ni]*

sweep-IMPF-1FSG grandpa-OBL-HON PL-POSS broom-MSG

‘I sweep the floor with grandpa’s broom.’

Given a long sentence, Ab repeats the VP first, then tries to recollect and say other constituents.

Ab: *popai an-li- aji-ni*

Papaya bring-PERF- grandmother-ERG

‘Grandma brought a papaya (a type of fruit).’

When she hears

*baba-n-ni tak-lə na?*

father-OBL PL-ERG leave / reject-PERF PART

‘Didn’t father leave it?’

she repeats first *babanni taklə*, then *na* and finally the whole question.

#### Phase 4

Independent utterances:

*mə-ya (=māla) photo datəw*

I-DAT photo show-IMP

‘Show me the snaps.’

*andol-it (=aṅghoḷ-it) (mendi)*

*dut-li (=dhut-li)*

bath-PP (coloured design on palm) wash out-PERF

‘When I took my bath, (my mehendi) got washed out.’

3-word sentences

*ai-ni di-lə hotə*

mother-ERG give-PERF Be-PAST

‘Mother had given (it).’

## Question formation:

*aba-n-ni*                      *pænt*                      *dat-li*                      *ta*  
 [= *aba-n-ni*                      *pant*                      *ghat-li*                      *ka*]  
 grandpa-OBLHON PL-ERG trousers-FSG wear-PERF Q  
 'Has grandpa put on his trousers?'

## Independent long sentence:

*aḷi*                      *soy-un (= soḍ-un)*                      *de*                      *mə-ya nai ye-t*  
 grandma untie-COMPL give-IMP I-DAT NEG can-V2-IMPF  
 'Grandma, untie this. I can't untie.'

She understands all types of sentences. When GM said,

GM: *mə-la nət-ayla*                      *awəḍ-te*  
 I-DAT make attractive-PRED like-IMPF  
 'I like to make myself attractive.'

Ab: *aḷi*                      *nət-te [=nət-te]*  
 grandma make attractive-IMPF  
 'Grandma likes to make up her face.'

## Sentences said independently:

*aṣə*                      *təl-u*                      *nəto [= əsə kər-u nəko]*  
 like this do-INCP NEG  
 'Don't do like this.'

## Complex sentence:

*aba-ni*                      *maula*                      *hat-lə [= hakəl-lə]*                      *mya mya*  
 grandpa-ERG cat-DAT drive out-PERF mew mew  
*təltə*                      *mənun [=myaw myaw kər-tə mhənun]*  
 say-IMPF so  
 'Grandpa drove out the cat as it was mewing'

*he*                      *tatəw dəl*                      *to-pəyənt*                      *mi he*                      *tel*                      *tad-te*  
 [= *he kasəw dhər*                      *to-pəyəntə*                      *mi he*]                      *kheḷ*                      *kaḍh-te*  
 this turtle hold-IMP till-then I these toy-PL take out-IMPF-1FSG  
 'Hold this turtle till I take out these toys.'

Ab: *pəḍ-li*                      *ətti*  
 [= (*mi*) *pəḍ-li*                      *əsti*]  
 fall-PERF Be-COND  
 '(I) would have fallen.'

- Ab: *bappa-la šadi dat-li*  
 [= *bappa-la saḍi ghat-li*]  
 deity-DAT saree dress-PERF  
 'The deity was dressed in a saree.'
- Ab: *māmam bat-a-sati sottiye bātata*  
 [= *māmā- bhat-a-saṭhi sol-ti-ye bəṭaṭa*]  
 meal rice-OBL-PP peel-IMPF-Be-PRES potato  
 '(She) is peeling a potato for my rice-meal'

She saw grandmother's feet under the table and said:

- aḷi pay-at diš-ti*  
 grandma feet-PP see-IMPF  
 'Grandmother is seen in her feet = I see grandma's feet.'
- O: *tu-la hāwe*  
 you-DAT want  
 'Do you want (it)?'
- Ab: *aḷibat nāto*  
 INTNS NEG  
 'Not at all.'

Wh-question formation:

- Ab: *kute [=kuṭhe] de-la [=gela] hota*  
 where go-PERF Be-PAST  
 'Where were you?'

Particle *cə*:

- aba-n-či latti-c-e sonu*  
 [= *laḍki-c ahe*]  
 grandpa-OBL-POSS favourite-INTSF-Be-PRES Sonu  
 'Sonu is grandpa's favourite.'
- Ab: *ya-č-atli bandi (= baṅḍi) kuthe (kuṭhe) də(gə)*  
 this-POSS-PP(F) bracelet(F) where VOC (F)  
 'Where is the bracelet that was in this?'

Ab to GM:

- ha aba-n-ca bappa-e, tu nāmattal*  
 this grandpa-OBL-POSS God-Be-PRES you PHR V: salute  
*təl-u [=kər-u] nāto [nəko]*  
 v2-IMP NEG  
 'This is grandpa's God; you shouldn't worship.'

## Phase 5

Ab distinguishes between reporting verb and the direct speech.

O: *buddhi de say*  
 intelligence give-IMP tell-IMP  
 ‘Say, “Give me intelligence.”’

Ab: *duddide*  
 ‘Give (me) intelligence.’

Ambiguity:

Ab (pointing towards a photograph)

*ti aban-či ai*  
 that grandpa-POSS mother  
 ‘That one is grandpa’s mother.’

GM: *tujhi koṇ-e?*

your who-Be-PRES  
 = (a) *tujhi ti koṇ*  
 your she who  
 ‘Who is she to you?’

= (b) *tujhi ai koṇ*  
 your mother who  
 ‘Who is your mother?’

Intended meaning is (a).

Ab: *maḷi ai munal*  
 my(F) mother Mrunal  
 ‘My mother (is) Mrunal.’

-u-šək

Ab: *mi itdun jau šakte*  
 I this way go-INCP V2-IMPF(F)  
 ‘I can go this way.’

Anaphor

Ab: *mi etti [=ekṭi] ta-te [=kha-te]*  
 I alone eat-IMPF  
 ‘I eat by myself.’  
*maḷhi mi > mi ekṭi*

Another child of her age who is a Hindi speaker is reported to have said

*mæ əkela*  
'I alone.'

Neg-formation:

O: *bhīngri pad-ayči əs-te ka*  
te-totum (a toy) cause to fall-PRED Be-IMPF Q  
'Shall one let fall the te-totum?'

Ab: *nai pad-ayči əs-te*  
NEG cause to fall-PRED Be-IMPF  
'One should not let it fall.'  
*nai əs-te* for *n-əs-te*

Narration:

Ab: *et hota topiwala*  
one Be-PAST cap-seller  
'Once there was a cap-seller.'  
*eta dada-wəl matd-e hoti*  
one tree-PP monkey-PL Be-PAST  
'There were monkeys in a tree.'  
*topiwala mṇa-la*  
capseller say-PERF  
'The cap-seller said.'  
*alečča top-ya tut-et*  
INTJ cap-PL where-Be-PRES  
'Ah, where are the caps?'

English + Marathi

*tedibeə-la no šīṅ-ə*  
teddy bear-DAT NEG horn-PL  
'Teddy-bear has no horns.'

Sequential sentence-formation

*aṣi ut-nar [=uṭh-ṇar]*  
grandmother get up-PROSP  
'Grandma would get up.'  
*mi ti-la wiča-nal [=wičar-ṇar]*  
I she-DAT ask-PROSP  
'Then I would ask her.'



*kay dā [=gə] aʃe tute [=kuʃhe] hotiʃ*  
 what VOC(F) grandma where Be-PAST  
 “Oh grandma, where have you been?”

#### Learning through repetition:

O: *sawkaʃ kər*  
 slowly do-IMP  
 ‘Do (it) slowly.’  
 Ab: *aba mhən-tat ʃawtaʃ təl [=kər]*  
 Gradpa say-IMPF lowly do-IMP

#### Adv clause of reason:

Ab: *mə-la wəy [=wər] nya*  
 I-DAT upstairs take-IMP(PL)  
 ‘Carry me upstairs.’  
*tumi (PL) maje aʃoba at na*  
 you my grandpa Be-PRES(PL) PART  
 ‘Since you are my grandpa, aren’t you?’

#### Neg-formation:

Ab: *bhat hota nahi*  
 rice Be-PAST NEG  
 ‘There was no rice.’  
 also uses *nəwta [= nəwha]* ‘wasn’t’

#### Phase 6

#### Creative narration:

Ab: *tyan-či ai əs-te*  
 they-POSS mother be-IMPF  
 ‘They have a mother.’  
*mə dal law-tat*  
 then door close-IMPF  
 ‘Then (they) close the door.’  
*mə jop-tat*  
 then sleep-IMPF  
 ‘Then (they) sleep.’

*tuntun ud-ya mal-tat*  
 [= *ṭuṇṭuṇ uḍ-ya mar-tat*]  
 springing PHR V:jump-PL V-IMPF  
 ‘They jump and jump.’

*tyan-či nat əs-te*  
 they-POSS granddaughter be-PRES  
 ‘They have a granddaughter.’

*ti-cə naw tay [=kay] əš-tə bələ [=bəɾə]?*  
 her name what be-IMPF PART  
 ‘What is her name?’

*tedi beəl,*  
 ‘Teddy bear?’

*nai*  
 ‘No.’

*əbhikhya*  
 ‘Abhikhya?’

*nai*  
 ‘no.’

*mə tay bələ*  
 then what PART  
 ‘then what?’

– *čəmpu*  
 ‘Champu.’

Adv:

Ab: *ithun-ča-pəlyənt [=ithpəryəntə] soppə-y*  
 upto this easy-Be-PRES  
 ‘Up to this, it is easy.’

Question:

Ab: *tide tute delat*  
 [= *tikḍe kuṭhe ge-lat* ]  
 there where go-PERF  
 ‘Where have you gone?’

## Quasi-modal:

Ab: *mi udad-u [=ughd-u] šatte[=šak-te] – mə-la don hat-et*  
 I open-INCP V2-IMP – I-DAT two hand(PL) Be-PRES  
 ‘I can open (it) – I have two hands.’

## Adv:

Ab: *tewd-yat [=tewdh-yat] ai a-li*  
 that much-PP mother come-PAST  
 ‘By then mother came.’  
 Ab: *tu adi [=adhi] tər, mi made [=magahun] tər-te*  
 you first do-IMP I later do-IMPF  
 ‘You do it first, I will do it later.’

## Past tense:

*mi bəs-li*  
 I sit-PERF  
 ‘I sat down.’  
*mi jew-li*  
 I have lunch-PERF  
 ‘I had lunch.’  
*tujhə-c boṭ lag-lə*  
 your-EMPH finger touch-PERF  
 ‘Your own finger touched (it).’  
 Ab: *ho swəta-cə*  
 yes self-POSS  
 ‘Yes my own.’

## Quasi modal:

Ab: *mi the-u šat-te bəsəw-u pəṇ*  
 I put-INCP V2-IMPF fix-INCP also  
 ‘I can put it and fix it too.’

## Neg-formation:

Ab: *tu udbətti lawət-əc nai*  
 you incense-stick burn-PART NEG  
 ‘You don’t burn the incense-stick at all.’

## Q-formation and predictive:

Ab: *ata kay kər-aycə?*  
 now what do-PRED  
 ‘What shall we do now?’

Neg of *həw* ‘want’

O: *əbhikhya dəba ka nahi kha-llas*  
 Abhikhya-VOC tiffin why NEG eat-PERF  
 ‘Abhikhya, why didn’t you eat your tiffin?’

Ab: *məla həwə nəwtə*  
 I-DAT want NEG-PAST  
 ‘I didn’t want it.’

Instead of *mə-la nəko hotə*.

Ab: *maja [=majha] duštine he bəyobəy ae*  
 my view-PP this right Be-PRES  
 ‘According to my view, it is right.’

## Semantics

## Phase 1

Moves her head from left to right to show ‘No’

*æ* + No; *ææ* = Emphatic ‘No’.

With high pitch and *æ* = Strong rejection

*æ* <sup>^</sup>*p* = ‘no’

## Phase 2

Ab uses *ai* for calling M or for calling attention.

## Phase 3

Deixis understood:

O: *mə-la kaḍh-ayči*  
 I-DAT draw-PRED  
 ‘I want to draw.’

Ab: *aba-na taḍayči*  
 grandpa-DAT draw-PRED  
 'Grandfather wants to draw.'

#### Phase 4

No deictic change:

Aunt: (*maḍiwār*) *tujhi tu jates*  
 (upstairs) your you go-IMP-2FSG  
 'Do you go upstairs on your own?'

Ab: *tujhi tu [=maji mi]* 'yes' [Repetition of the first two words.]

She understands everything said.

No deictic change.

GM: *tujha ai-ne bhārli*  
 your mother-ERG fill-PAST  
 'your mother filled it.'

Ab to O: *tujha aini*  
 'your mother'  
 instead of *maḥha aini* 'my mother.'

Cannot understand colour terms.

M: *aḥi-či saḍi tu-la ghal-u*  
 grandma-POSS saree you-DAT wear-IMP  
 'Shall I dress you in grandmother's saree?'

Ab: *mi maw-nal nāi*  
 [=mi maw-ṇar nahi]  
 I get in-PROSP NEG  
 'I will not fit in it.'

Deictic understood: I = speaker

Ab: *mi mi mi tāl-te [=kār-te]*  
 I I I do-IMP  
 'I want to do it.'

O: *mi kārū?*  
 I do-IMP  
 'Shall I do it?'

- Ab: *nai abhikhya*  
 NEG Abhikhya  
 'No, Abhikhya.' [=I will do it].
- Ab: *mi de-t nai [=mi ghet-lə nahi]*  
 I take-PERF NEG I give-IMPF NEG  
 'I haven't taken (it).'

Deictic: She mixed up honorific plural, non-honorific singular

- Ab to Grandpa:  
*tu-la hawəi na d-ya [=gh-ya] tumi*  
 you(2SG)-DAT want give-IMP-PL [=take-IMP-PL] you-2PL  
 'You want it – take it.'

*mod* 'break' and *phuṭ* 'break' are confused.

## Phase 5

Colour terms: Ab identifies yellow and white. She uses terms '*piwla*' and '*pandra*' respectively. She distinguishes green as well but uses the term *nila* 'blue' for it.

When she is given a new outfit – yellow shirt, blue shorts, she does use the correct word *nila* for blue.

Deictic transfer: You-I

- F: *tu miṭh waḍh*  
 you salt serve-IMP  
 'You serve salt.'
- Ab: *mi mith wada-cə [=waḍh-aycə]*  
 I-ERG salt serve-PRED  
 'I am to serve salt.'

Use of honorific pronouns and self-correction:

- tuḷa- tumta awaḷ əit-la [=əikla]*  
 your(SG) your(PL) voice hear-PERF  
 '(I)heard your voice.'
- tu ye- tumi ya na*  
 you(SG) come you(PL) come  
 'Come.'

Creative use: When a bottle is opened she says:

*udhəd-le* [= *ughəd-le*] *ti-čə* *dotə* [= *dokə*]  
 open-PERF she-POSS head  
 ‘(They) opened its head.’

O: *aj guruwar girṇi bəndə*  
 today Thursday flour-mill (is) closed

Ab: *dilniwale [girṇiwale] jhop-le*  
 miller sleep-PERF  
 ‘Miller slept.’  
*pit pən jhople*  
 floor also sleep-PERF  
 ‘The floor also slept.’

Ab sees difference between real world and language-use:

O: *ləhan mul-an-na bag-et bhel de-tat*  
 small boy-OBL(PL)-DAT garden-PP *bhel* give-IMPF(3PL)  
 ‘Children are given ‘*bhel*’ (a special eatable) in the garden.’

Ab: *moti [moṭhi] mans-ə [=mans-ə] pən [=pən] ta-tat [=kha-tat]*  
 grown up person-PL also eat-IMPF  
 ‘Adults also eat it.’

Implication: So why do you say ‘children?’

O: *mi tu-la di-li ki nahi?*  
 I-ERG you-DAT give-PERF-3FSG OR NEG  
 ‘Didn’t I give it to you?’

Ab: *tu pən ta-lli [=kha-lli]*  
 you also eat-PERF-3FSG  
 ‘But you also ate it.’

Colour terms: *lal* ‘red’ and *piwla* ‘yellow’ are understood and identified. Now distinguishes *hirwa* ‘green’ and *niḷa* ‘blue’.

## Phase 6

Ab recognizes all the colours, shows objects that have a particular colour. Colour terms: *lal* ‘red’, *niḷa* ‘blue’, *hilwa* ‘green’, *piwla* ‘yellow’, *kala* ‘black’, *jamla* ‘purple’.

Ab understands redundancy and absurdity:

M: *abhikhya tu bai-nna naw ka sangət nahis*  
 Abhikhya you lady-teacher-DAT name why tell-IMPF NEG  
 ‘Abhikhya, why don’t you tell your name to the teacher?’

- Ab: *tyanna mait ahe*  
 she-DAT known Be-PRES  
 'She knows it.'
- M: *kəsə?*  
 'How?'
- Ab: *tya mhən-tat əbittya naw saŋ tuja*  
 she say-IMPF Abhikhya name tell-IMP your  
 'She says, "Abhikhya, tell your name".'
- O: *mə-la bhiti waṭ-te tu rəḍ-lis ki*  
 I-DAT PHRV: fear V2-IMPF you cry-PERF CONJ  
 'I am scared when you cry.'
- Ab: *mi rəḍ-ət nahi čid-li-ye*  
 I cry-IMPF NEG get angry-PERF-Be-PRES  
 'I am not crying, I am angry.'

Logic: A stands for Abhikhya. Therefore letter A is the person.

- Ab: *aba tumči nat sapḍ-ət nai*  
 grandpa your grand-daughter finding NEG  
 'Grandpa, your granddaughter is missing.'  
 (= cannot find the letter A)

Sense of humour:

- M: *pay-a-la kiti khicəḍi lag-li-y*  
 leg-OBL-DAT how much rice stick-PERF-Be-PRES  
 'Your leg is smeared with rice.'
- Ab: *khicəḍi mə-la kha-te*  
 rice I-DAT eat-IMPF.  
 'The rice is eating me.'

*khali ʈhew* 'put down' for *utəṛəw* 'help descend'

Ab to teacher:

- mə-la khali ʈhew-te ka*  
 I-DAT down put-IMPF Q  
 'Will you help me get down?'

Coining: Reduplication

*gurgur* (a noise in the belly)

- Ab: *pot-at guččibiṭik jha-lə*  
 belly-LOC REDUP become-PERF  
 'There is a gurgling sound in my belly.'



Context: *rəṅgə-pənčəmi* (colour-fifth day of the month) ‘a festival of colours’

Ab was playing in water

Ab: *apli paṇi-pənčəmi*

our water-fifth day

‘Ours is festival of water.’

Ab: *aba phul kədhi boltə ka*

Aba-VOC flower ever speak-IMPF Q-PART

‘Grandpa, does a flower ever talk?’

O: *phul kəsə bol-el. te cal-ət nahi bol-ət nahi*

flower how speak-FUT it walk-IMPF NEG speak-IMPF NEG

‘How can a flower talk? It does not walk or talk.’

Ab: *məg capha bol-e-na daṇə tāsə?*

then Champak speak-PAST HAB-NEG song how

‘Then how can one have a song: ‘Champak wouldn’t speak?’

Coining:

Ab: *loni jhuljhul-it tər*

butter REDUP ‘loose’ do-IMP

‘Make the butter soft.’

Concord: SUB

PHR V

ADJ V

*muli*

*bərya(FPL) jha-lyə*

*(bəre hoṇe)*

girls(FPL)

alright become-PERF(FPL)

↑

↑

↑

Ab:

*muli*

*bəri (FSG)*

*jha-lyə*

girl(FPL)

alright

become-PERF(FPL)

↑

↑

‘Girls recovered.’

## Other abilities

### Phase 1

Ab is hot-tempered; she does not like changing clothes. From the dress of mother, father etc. understands whether the person is going out or not. She catches the person who is going out.

She can see things that are distant. She can watch the moon, the aeroplane. Pats the person on shoulder to express approval or liking, listens to music, crawls on stomach, cannot lift the body on hands, smiles to show approval, affection,

likes to handle computer, key-board, remote-control, telephone buttons, puts coins into a box through a hole, removes and puts back rings into a stick. She stands on her feet and walks by holding on to things. Climbs steps of a staircase, likes to hold food-grains in her grip and throw them away. She could walk two steps independently in March 2004.

GM reported how Ab fell and hit her head. Ab remembers and touches her own head. Ab can distinguish between family-members, relatives and outsiders. She does not allow the maid-servant to touch her.

## Phase 2

Ab can hold a small metal glass of water and drink. She does not recognize or smile at an unfamiliar face.

Ab cannot distinguish colours.

She walks without support.

## Phase 3

She can walk backward. When she pulls a toy with a string, she stumbles.

She eats with her hand.

She gets 'offended'. Offence leads to anger and anger leads to crying.

She can count. When she saw two babies she said *don don balā* 'two two babies'.

When she was given *curmure* 'flattened rice' and *sakhārphutaṇe* 'a sweet preparation of sugar', she said *don don* 'two two'.

## Phase 4

She gets frightened when she hears sharp noises/sounds such as that of a mixer, a pressure cooker or a doorbell. When she is called '*āre gundya*' 'Oh Gundya!', she clings to her mother. 'Gundya' is an affectionate term for a naughty child.

Remembering past event: She had soup at 5. While taking it, she spilled it a little bit. At 6:15 she remembered that and said *śup sand-lā* '(I) spilled the soup'. Then, *ai-ni di-lā hotā* 'Mother had given it to me'.

She said *śu* (signal for urinating) and urinated on the bed. In the evening she said *śu* and when taken to the toilet, she urinated.

She repeats instructions when she acts, e.g.: *hat dhu* 'wash hand.' She would wash her hand by saying *hat du*.

She understands instructions and acts.

She likes to give different shapes to her mouth: twisting or protruding of lips, puffing of the cheeks, sucking air and tightening the cheeks, rounding of lips etc.

Fear: Even if somebody says *koṇ alā* 'Who came / Who is there?' she is frightened.

Humour: When grandpa says he is a cat, Ab says:

*aba-na        šepu* [= *šepuṭ* 'tail']  
 gradpa-DAT tail  
 'Grandpa (hass) a tail.'

Ab can listen to other people talking carefully and comment on it. Once her mother gave a ring to her father's office to inquire about his coming. She was told that he was sleeping. She told GM *jhop-lay mhāṇ-te* '(The assistant) says 'he is sleeping''. Ab was at the other end of the room playing. She said:

*baba aphis-at dop-lay* [= *jhop-la-y*]  
 father office-LOC sleep-PERF-Be-PRES  
 'Father is sleeping in the office.'

Word-humour: She saw grandma sitting for prayer. Her comment:

*aḷi thāma-tatu-salti bās-li*  
 grandma fat-lady-like sit-PERF  
 'Grandma is sitting like a fat, lazy lady.'

Inquisitiveness: Recurring question: *he kay ahe* 'what is this?'

## Phase 5

Ab can blow air but cannot spit water out when brushing her teeth.

For Ab verbal activity is a part of a physical activity. When F was taking her foot-prints on a sheet of paper he said:

*hāl-u nāko*  
 move-IMP NEG  
 'Don't move.'

After an hour O did the same. When O was taking the footprints quietly Ab said:

*hāl-u nāto mhān na*  
 move-IMP NEG say-IMP PART  
 'Say, don't move.'

Counting: one and two – *et ani don*.

She can see the contradictions in adult speech and deed.

She enjoys colouring pictures.

She is a lefty – a left hand user.

## Phase 6

Play-group. English-Marathi.

Ab does not like two adults talking about things she does not understand. She shouts. She knows the difference between the real world and the imaginary world but still in play, imagines things.

Ab: *səʃala thoṭthoṭ [=kʰoṭəkʰoṭə]* *ais̩s̩rim [=ais-krim]* *de*  
 rabbit-DAT imaginary icecream give-IMP  
 ‘Give the rabbit imaginary icecream.’

She doesn't like to eat in the presence of outsiders. Nor does she like the sound of munching, chewing, swallowing etc.

She identifies all shapes – circle, square, diamond, rectangle, triangle.

## Observations

### Phonology

Lips are the organs of speech used first. Apart from vowels, the child begins with labial and alveolar stops and takes three and a half years to produce the velar stops. Trill is also acquired very late. The replacements for the velars show a pattern of moving from the front of the mouth to the back. In the bilabials also the acquisition of voiceless *p* precedes that of *b*. At first *b* and *p* are used for *g* and *k* and then *d* and *t* and then *ɖ* and *ʈ*. However passive recognition of sounds exists. By the age of two the replacement of *k* and *g* by *t* and *d* by adults is laughed at.

Central vowels *ə*, *a* and high front vowel *i* precede in acquisition of *u* and *o* but within a year, all vowels are acquired. Primacy of vowels over consonants is very clear. Acquisition of palatal sounds and their use is quite early – by the age of one and a half. Acquisition of aspiration also coincides with it.

Fluency of speech is a characteristic. There are hardly any pauses in the middle of the utterance.

The liquid *l* and the trill *r* are difficult – may be because of the tongue-shape and tongue-movement. *ɣ* replaces *l*, and when *l* is successfully pronounced it is in the word-initial position. Once *r* is acquired, it is used in place of *ɖ* and *l* also.

If the acquisition process moves from the front of the mouth to the back, one would expect the acquisition of alveolar *c*, *j* and *s* to precede the acquisition of retroflex and palatal sounds. But that does not happen. *ɣ*, *ʃ* are acquired at the beginning of the second year and *ʂ* follows them.

Intonation and word-stress are never difficult. The use of intonation for sarcasm, admiration, politeness is recognized quickly. The tonic syllable in the word is never shifted even when the consonantal sounds are replaced by other sounds.

## Morphology

Gender is assigned to words by using *ai* ‘mother’ and *baba* ‘father’ before them. Grammatical gender is equated with natural gender at the beginning. The use of proper feminine verb-form for self shows the same. Repeating songs that are not understood or words that are heard or enjoying making new nonsensical words at the end of the first year show that production of sounds is an activity in itself; it does not require the language structure.

The use of oblique case without using the following postposition may make one wonder whether P is the head of a PP or not. The use of endearment suffixes indicate the emotive use of language. Though gender markers in verb-forms are identified and used properly person-markers are not.

The phase of making nonsensical words just for the sake of sounds changes into coining new words for real objects. Common derivative suffixes are used gradually. Tense is understood but not the inflection; therefore one particular verb-form (for example *pəḍ-lo* which is perfective 1st person masculine singular is used for 3rd person masculine singular or *kəṛ-šil* which is future 2nd person singular used for 1st person singular) is used irrespective of gender and number. Irregular verbs are used as regular verbs at the age of two. Causative use is understood and aquired but causativization is absent; the non-causative forms are used as causative forms. Between inherent causatives and derived causatives, the latter come first and the derivation is used freely. Some polar antonyms are used but reciprocal antonyms are not all comprehended.

The subtle differences between verbs with similar conceptual meaning and differences among postpositions are not understood before the age of three. Gender inflection is used in the third year – there are instances of self-correction. Perhaps because of the limited vocabulary, the meanings of some common words are

creatively and metaphorically extended. After Imperfective and Perfective aspects, Prospective aspect and then Predictive are acquired. Making reduplicatives with *b* is acquired in the third year. The use of quasi-modals starts in the third year.

### Syntax

Phonology and morphology precede syntax, which emerges after the age of one. Marathi is a head-last language and that may be the reason that the child starts repeating the last elements. Even bound postpositions are repeated if they occur at the end. Statements contain one or two words initially but questions are always one-word questions with a rising intonation. Answering a yes-no question positively and approving a suggestion or agreeing with a command are indicated by repeating the last word of the utterance – despite the fact that *ho* ‘yes’ is a very simple word. Answering wh-questions with one word – including adverbial PP – follows answering yes-no questions. Sentence length increases from two to four words but the first two words are the main words. Preferably Honorific plural forms of verbs are used. A long sentence which normally has SOV order in adult speech becomes VOS in child-speech. After the age of one and a half independent utterances with three to four words begin to be used. Both the types of questions and imperatives with more than two words also begin to appear. Long sentences in adult speech are understood. Complex sentence formation begins at this stage. In negatives *nahi* is first acquired. At the beginning of the third year, the non-native sequence is still kept. Though verbal negation comes late, gestural negation is used quite easily. The concord between noun and adjective and verb and noun is kept without any hesitation.

### Semantics

When referring to the speaker, the speaker’s ‘I’ is changed to ‘he’ but is not understood. However ‘I’ for self and ‘you’ for others are used properly. But other persons’ ‘I’ and ‘you’ are not transferred to the respective deictic terms till the age of one year and nine months. In the last few months of the second year colour-terms begin to be used as well as the properly transferred deictic terms. By the end of the second year colour terms are properly used in the following sequence: white-yellow-red-blue-green. The discrepancy between the real state of the world around and the verbal expressions used for it is seen at this stage. In the third year, this ability extends to songs as well.

Understanding whatever is said is complete by the end of the second year.

In the third year, the colours of different objects are properly labeled. Words for 'black' and 'purple' are used. The absurdity in adults talking to children is detected. The relation between the English letters and their initial use in the objects named is understood well. A sense of humour is reflected in the use of language. Coining of reduplicatives shows the awareness of relating a natural sound to a speech sound.





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